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11 May 1983

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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PAPER DISCUSSES U.S. ROLE IN ISRAEL-LEBANON NEGOTIATIONS

Beirut ZARTONK in Armenian 1 Apr 83 p 2

["Lebanese Chronicle" column by Baruyr Aghbashian: "The 'Matchmaker Father' and His Uncontrollable Adopted Child"]

[Text] The Lebanese have the right to ask: "Till when will the Lebanese-Israeli talks, which have turned into a boring charade, continue?" Others wonder whether the talks have been too protracted.

The fact is that as soon as one dispute gets resolved another one gets "unresolved" and as soon as one debate ends another one emerges. Thus, the talks look like a tug of war, with a visible intention on the part of Israel to push forth self-serving and unacceptable proposals.

If certain circles still maintain an unfathomable optimism toward the conclusion of these talks, that can be attributed to the mediation role assumed by the United States, which obviously would not want to jeopardize its reputation.

Furthermore, there is a line of thought to the effect that this pessimistic atmosphere has been deliberately created in order to wrest promising results out of this oppressive environment, for instance limited withdrawal of forces from certain areas and their replacement with legitimate forces. This first step toward the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon could prompt the King of Jordan to participate in the turbulence of the talks. This could be followed by talks with the Syrians and the Palestinians, which could also be initiated with limited withdrawals.

It appears that this is the policy pursued by the "matchmaker father", but what his adopted child wants is different--always more and always bigger.

It is as ridiculous as it is absurd that after 24 consecutive and alternating sessions of talks the future status of Saad Haddad, the "king" of Lebanon's border region with Israel, has become the most important and vital issue, as though it were the key to all the problems. And if that was the case, it should have been stated at the outset so that the world and the Lebanese would be spared this charade.

The practice of putting forth new demands every day--whether they are about free trade, open borders, observation posts, security zones or about joint patrols and

others--with the mentality of a spoiled and wayward child can only be described as a cat-and-mouse game. And now, the issue of Saad Haddad has been raised, and not only is interest being expressed about the future of his military forces, but also "concern" is being shown for his person, his career and his future. What a display of benevolence, affection and love!

This stance, of course, is not accidental. It has a very subtle purpose: to "drive" the Lebanese government and political circles into disarray over the issue, given that some Lebanese factions consider Haddad an "exemplary" soldier who has been forced to play his current role by the conditions surrounding him, while others see him as a traitor who has collaborated with the enemy and who was expelled from the army after he declared his "republic" in the south.

What do all these show? They point to Israel's devious policy of creating difficult and complicated impasses and flagrantly intervening in the internal affairs of Lebanon, which is even more intolerable and unacceptable.

It is noteworthy that Haddad himself has declared that if it is his status that is blocking the otherwise smooth progress of the talks, then he is prepared to withdraw. What will Israel do if Haddad does what he says? But such problems are not very difficult to solve for Israel; it will replace Haddad with someone else and start thinking about another unacceptable demand.

This situation of prolonged petty bargaining and delays has created a mood among some circles to freeze or suspend the talks, since they appear to have no end or conclusion. U.S. envoy Philip Habib's statement in this connection was very appropriate. When asked whether he is optimistic or pessimistic about the outcome of the talks, Habib chose neither and replied: "I am disappointed." That was self-explanatory. It is probably for that reason that Habib left for home.

Israel would obviously want to see that the talks produce no results--except the realization of its dreams--so that it would have the pretext to implement its plans in Lebanon, Syria and other occupied territories.

This "reluctant" stance by Israel also gives the right to the other foreign forces in Lebanon to stay put in their regions, since the enemy is unwilling to take any steps toward withdrawal. There exists another line of thought to the effect that even limited withdrawals will not take place because of the likelihood of a military clash between Syria and Israel in the Bekaa. This viewpoint is based on the judgement that the absence of a political solution always leads to war. And in the event of war there will inevitably be an intervention from the Soviet Union, which will actively participate in the solution of the Middle East problems, a situation which the United States would not like and which it would prefer to avoid.

In view of these evident realities, the "matchmaker father" has no choice but to use all its flexibility and diplomatic powers to tame its uncontrollable adopted child.

ARMENIAN CATHOLICOS IN LEBANON VISITS SYRIAN PRESIDENT

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 11 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Text] Catholicos Karekin II returned yesterday from his 3-day visit to Damascus where he had a meeting with Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad.

Catholicos Karekin II and his entourage arrived in Damascus at 8 pm on Friday and were greeted at the airport by the Prelate of the Diocese of Beria [Aleppo], other spiritual leaders, Armenian community leaders and the Armenian deputy in the Syrian assembly. Also in the welcoming party were Patriarch Zakka Iouas, the leader of the Assyrian Orthodox Church, and Bishop Kusan, the head of the Armenian Catholic community in Syria. More than 200 Armenians were also at the airport to welcome the Pontiff. This group included in particular community assemblymen and individual community workers from Aleppo, Jazirah and Latakia.

Accompanied with a police motorcade, the Pontiff was then taken to Hotel Meridienne where the people gathered to pay him homage in a specially prepared hall.

At 12 noon on Saturday, President Hafiz al-Assad received the Supreme Pontiff and his entourage in his presidential palace. During the meeting, which lasted more than an hour, the Pontiff expressed his pleasure at meeting the president for the first time as Catholicos and thanked him for the warm sympathy and care the president has always shown toward the Syrian-Armenian community. The Pontiff said: "The Syrian-Armenian community, which has lived and worked in the Syrian homeland for centuries, is one of the most important communities of the congregation of the Holy See of Cilicia."

The Pontiff also gave the president detailed information about the general state of the Armenian people, focusing in particular on the activities of and the renaissance movement in the communities under the jurisdiction of the See of Cilicia. He said: "We come from Lebanon, which, as you know, has suffered severe crises in the past 8 years. As always, the Armenian people supported during that time and continues to support now the legitimate central authority of the Lebanese government and participates actively in the efforts to expand and consolidate the government's authority over the entire country. Lebanese President Shaykh Amin Gemayel and his government are diligently pursuing this noble mission, and the Armenian community is helping them in all their efforts to give concrete expression to the unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon under the control of the government."

The president, in his turn, expressed his high regard for and his deep appreciation of the values, lawfulness and services of the Armenian people.

Maitre Khachig Babikian and Maitre Krikor Eblighatian, members of the Pontiff's entourage also participated in the talks and gave the president detailed information about the state and the activities of the Armenian communities in Lebanon and Syria.

A commemorative photograph was taken in the reception room, upon which the Pontiff bid farewell to the president in a sincere and warm atmosphere.

The same evening, the government radio and television reported the Pontiff's visit.

In the afternoon, the Pontiff and his entourage paid visits to His Holiness Patriarch Zakka Iouas, the head of the Assyrian Orthodox Church, and His Holiness Patriarch Ignatius Hazim IV of Antioch, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church in Syria. The Pontiff had brotherly, sincere and warm talks, which lasted 1 hour each, with both leaders.

In the evening, the Assyrian and Greek Orthodox patriarchs visited the Pontiff in the reception room in the hotel and later attended the dinner given in honor of the Supreme Pontiff.

More than 250 Armenians were present at the dinner. The speakers at the dinner included Bishop Suren Kataroyan, the Prelate of the Diocese of Beria; Mrs Mari Babikian, a community worker from Damascus; Maitre Fred Aslanian; and Maitre Khachig Babikian, a member of the Pontiff's entourage. Also, Patriarch Ignatius Hazim IV gave an eloquent and impressive speech during the dinner on his own behalf and on behalf of Patriarch Zakka. He greeted a longstanding brother in the person of the Supreme Pontiff, with whom they had given many services to the cause of interecclesiastical cooperation.

The last speaker was the Supreme Pontiff who expressed his warm thanks to the community leaders of the Diocese of Beria and the Armenian community of Damascus for their exemplary and proper attitude. The Pontiff then thanked his brotherly patriarchs who kindly showed brotherly affection during this first visit of his. The Pontiff then proposed a toast to the health of Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad and Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, expressing high appreciation for and blessing their services to the Syrian and Lebanese homelands. Addressing the Armenian people, the Pontiff called upon them to continue the path of renaissance and to remain firmly and persistently loyal to the countries they are living in. Addressing the Armenian community of Damascus in particular, the Pontiff said: "At this moment, I greet not only the Armenians present in this hall, but the entire Armenian community of Damascus. The Holy See of Cilicia is always prepared to serve its people regardless of ideology, class or denomination. We must always feel strong with each other, we must be one and by joining hands we must serve our dear people and Holy Church."

The dinner ended with a rendition of the song "Cilicia", upon which the guests had the opportunity to meet the Pontiff personally at the entrance of the hall and to receive his blessings.

PAPER DRAWS PARALLEL BETWEEN BARBIE CASE, ARMENIAN QUESTION

Beirut ZARTONK in Armenian 2 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by N. Veridontsi: "Klaus Barbie's Trial and the Armenian Question"]

[Text] Nazi criminal Klaus Barbie was recently arrested in Bolivia's capital, La Paz, and was taken to Lyons after being turned over to French authorities exactly 40 years after his bloody deeds. Barbie will be tried on charges of crimes against humanity which are not affected by statute of limitations according to provisions set by the Nuremberg International Tribunal immediately after World War II.

Klaus Barbie, who has earned the notorious title of "butcher of Lyons" or "executioner of Lyons", was sent to France on a special mission: to fight against the resistance forces. Today, he wants to use the fact that he was acting under orders to exonerate himself as many others did by placing the entire responsibility of their crimes on their superiors and, by extension, on Adolf Hitler, their leader. It is easy to say that he was only obeying the orders of his superiors. But justice cannot stop before such considerations. Every man is responsible for his actions.

Klaus Barbie executed his orders "too well." Thousands of individuals perished in German concentration camps and the Nazi torture house in Lyons after being subjected to unimaginable tortures. After being sentenced to death in absentia after the war, Barbie managed to hide for 4 or 5 years and in the early 1950's was granted asylum in Bolivia under the name Klaus Altmann. Thus, having succeeded in evading justice for so many years, the "executioner of Lyons" has become eligible to take advantage of the statute of limitations for his war crimes, but he cannot use it for his crimes against humanity.

What is the difference between the two? The first type of crime can be exempted from legal action after a certain amount of time has elapsed on grounds that such crimes have been committed by combatants under conditions of war. The second type of crimes are those that are committed against unarmed civilian populations with the purpose of genocide. Klaus Barbie has committed crimes of both these types. Even if he can benefit from statute of limitations for his crimes of the first type, he can still be tried for his crimes of the second type. More than 4,000 civilians have been the victims of these crimes, including about 40 Jewish children and teenagers.

Being more than 70 years old, Barbie has already reached the end of his life, and in any case he cannot be sentenced to death since the incumbent French socialist government has outlawed the death penalty. Barbie is expected to be sentenced to life imprisonment, which means that it is not much likely that he will leave prison alive. The main question, then, is: Why to have this trial which will raise storms in French public opinion, reopen old wounds and fire up dormant passions?

By trying Barbie at the exact location where he committed his crimes, the French authorities want to remind the world that crimes committed against humanity will inevitably find their just punishment sooner or later.

This trial is of interest to all Armenians for more than one reason. Firstly, putting aside our blood-stained file, from a purely humanitarian point view, all executioners of the world must meet their punishment. Secondly, in connection with our blood-stained file, the trial of Klaus Barbie is one of the best opportunities ever to revive our cause using as a legal case the developments of the trial--there is no need to wait for the end of the trial since the result cannot be different from what is expected--if, of course, the case brought against Adolf Eichmann during his trial and the pertinent documents are not sufficient to find new legal bases for our demands.

Today, the dictatorial Turkish regime goes further than all the previous regimes since Ataturk in its insolent stance on Armenian demands and does not hesitate to declare that there is an inheritance link that unites modern Turkey with the Ottoman Empire. The glorification of all executioners, big or small, their exoneration through the minimization and trivialization of their crimes and claims of rights over the seized lands all serve to prove that the genocide perpetrated against the Armenian nation--a genuine crime committed against humanity--is not bounded by time--since in any case it is not subject to statute of limitations--and that it continues today.

International law unambiguously defines as acts of genocide not only all actions aimed at exterminating whole societies, but also acts which deprive the broken masses which have escaped the massacres from all the means to preserve their identity. If the Armenian masses, which have lost their homeland and which are spread all over the world as a result of the massacres, are today condemned to remain deprived of the means to develop their culture and language, then the modern Turkish government is clearly perpetuating the work of the actual perpetrators of the genocide.

Klaus Barbie committed crimes against humanity 40 years ago. He is being tried today.

A genocide was committed against the Armenian people 68 years ago, and that genocide continues today, while the true successors of Turkish Klaus Barbies perpetuate the consequences of the genocide and deny that the genocide occurred on every occasion.

Who is going to try the Turkish authorities who are perpetuating the consequences of the genocide?

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TURKISH DIPLOMAT'S LETTER TO 'LE MONDE' ON ARMENIAN 'TERRORISM'

Beirut ZARTONK in Armenian 31 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] [Editor's note] Our readers will recall the remarkable editorial published in the French daily, LE MONDE, whose translation we published in our 9 March issue together with our comments. The said editorial called upon the French government and public to fight against all types of terrorist acts committed on French soil, but it also urged the French to undertake an official campaign against the Turkish government in order to put an end to its attempts to deny the Armenian genocide.

Apparently, this editorial has caused great discomfort among Turkish circles, which, the paper notes with veiled humor, have sent "large numbers" of letters to the editor, all of them "originating from Turkey and obviously copies of the same original." As an exception, the paper has published one of these letters, sent by the Turkish Ambassador in Bern, D. Turkmen, considering it as the "official viewpoint of the Turkish government."

We, in our turn, present a translation of that letter, which, our readers will notice, contains nothing new and is simply a repetition of well-known Turkish denials.

On this occasion, we would like to draw our readers' attention to the fact that after the publication of the said editorial the Turks have flooded the offices of LE MONDE with letters as the paper notes. The question is whether the paper received any elucidative, critical or appreciative letters from our side.

The propaganda campaign we are waging today requires the persistent use of all the tools and methods that are appropriate to the campaign.

[LE MONDE editor's note] Our article about Armenian terrorism on 30 and 31 January and our editorial on March 2 generated a large number of letters from many readers, all of them originating from Turkey and obviously copies of the same original.

Apart from these, we also received a note from the Turkish Ambassador to Switzerland, B. D. Turkmen, whose reasoning can be regarded as the official viewpoint of the Turkish government.

Below are excerpts from that letter.

A government that has stooped so low as to bargain with murderers; official institutions that take 1½ years to bring to justice terrorists "caught red handed" by your own admission--though you fail to mention that these terrorists killed an official of the Turkish embassy in Paris and wounded another; a justice system that, in connection with another assassination attempt, wastes two full years before realizing that there is a mistake about the identity of the defendant; a government television that feels obliged to present on every occasion a person who is identified as the official representative of ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] in France; a press that does not make the slightest effort to seek the truth in this so-called Armenian question and that is satisfied with simply repeating the propaganda clichés of the Armenians and their collaborators.

I challenge LE MONDE to present a single incontrovertible document which proves that Turkey planned and implemented a genocide against the Armenians in 1915... The entire French government machinery has done nothing except encouraging terrorism... You must admit that in all of Europe it is impossible to find another government that has so malevolently become the tool of murderers.

Your article is based on the presupposition that a genocide against the Armenian community did really take place in 1915, a genocide that /the Turkish government continues to deny./ (our italics)

The truth is that foreign governments, including France, that wanted to dismember the Ottoman Empire incited the Armenians to organize a series of rebellions, which the Turkish government was forced to suppress. That is how the unfortunate Armenians became victims of unfulfilled promises and the dishonesty of the West. The Armenians must fight against those who threw them into the fire for their own interests and settle their accounts with them.

You would have been more sincere, and hence it would be more appreciated, if instead of calling for a diplomatic campaign--an act that will be considered invalid from the outset if it is undertaken by the French government--you had made the essential effort to initiate studies to determine the truth on this issue through, for instance, an international group of impartial academicians. The Turkish government, which you charge with the crime of "distorting history", would gladly participate in such studies. (LE MONDE, 26 March 1983)

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TURKEY TAKES STEPS AGAINST 'INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM'

Official Request to Lebanon

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Mar 83 p 3

/Article by Artun Unsal/

/Text/ Ankara--The recent assassination of the Turkish ambassador to Belgrade has prompted the Turkish Government to resume its initiatives to achieve closer cooperation in the struggle against international terrorism. Ankara has therefore officially requested the Beirut government to take appropriate measures "to prevent training, organization and location of Armenian terrorist groups on Lebanese soil," which Turkey regards as incompatible with the friendship and neighborly relations between the two countries.

Bringing a message from President of the Republic General Evren, Turkish Foreign Affairs Minister Turkmen paid a surprise visit to Beirut on 17 March. The chief Turkish diplomat met with Lebanese President Gemayel, Primer Minister Al-Wazzan, and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs Shirani. He expressed to them his concern that the attacks on Turkish diplomats stationed abroad had been committed by Armenian terrorists operating out of Beirut. The Turkish minister stressed: "Most of the arrested terrorists carried Lebanese passports." He added that Lebanon is also serving as a "refuge" for terrorists who have left Europe or the United States after carrying out attacks.

Ankara believes that the Armenian terrorists have particularly benefited since 1975 from the chaos and absence of government authority in Lebanon. On the left and the right, they reportedly have ties with both the Phalangists and various movements of the Lebanese left.

President Gemayel reportedly promised to follow up Ankara's requests in a concrete way. For the moment, the Turkish leaders are avoiding any optimism, given the current power struggles in Lebanon.

Since his return, the chief Turkish diplomat has also implied that similar initiatives will be made with respect to other states in the region. This will begin first with Syria, where training camps have been reportedly put at

the disposal of the Armenian terrorists. According to information obtained by the Turkish secret services, who are being assisted more and more by their European colleagues, the main leaders of the Armenian terrorist movements, who had left Beirut and reassembled in various countries in the area, are now steadily returning to the Lebanese capital. The daily MILLIYET affirms that the Commandoes of Justice for Armenian Genocide, who are close to the Dashnag movement, were hardly harmed by the occupation of Beirut, unlike the ASALA /expansion unknown/ (pro-Soviet), that had to disperse but still remains very active, as apparently demonstrated by the recent attacks in Paris and Belgrade.

According to the Turkish press, the Greek sector of Cyprus reportedly continues to harbor Armenian terrorist groups and serve as a base of operations, particularly for ASALA. Mr Turkmen issued "a clear warning" to the Greek Cypriot leaders, adding: "We have solid indications in this regard. We will not fail to follow up on this matter," implying that Ankara's reaction would thus be quite strong. If the southern region of Cyprus tolerates such activities, "it will be making the biggest mistake in its history," he said.

The Turkish secret service reportedly has sufficient evidence to point to a "pentagon" of Armenian terrorism, whose main centers, according to MILLIYET, are Teheran, Damascus, Beirut, the Greek sector of Cyprus, and Athens. Turkish Minister of Defense Bayulken, who will attend the meeting of the NATO nuclear planning group in Lisbon, is preparing to again request closer cooperation among all the allies in the struggle against international terrorism. The Turks accuse "certain allies" (they are not named, but everyone understands: France and Greece) of not being very energetic. Ankara accuses Athens of acting almost complacently with respect to the Armenian organizations. A Greek paper's publication of an interview with an Armenian leader who made new threats against Turkish diplomats only 3 days after the assassination of the Turkish ambassador in Belgrade was not at all well received here. The Turkish press also accuses PASOK /expansion unknown/ of maintaining special ties with the leaders of the Revolutionary Armenian People's Movement based in Athens.

Paris Bomb Attempt

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Mar 83 p 3

/Text/ A charge of four sticks of plastic explosive, total weight about 700 grams, and tied to an detonator device, had been placed under the car of Jean-Marc (called Ara) Toranian, 29, an active militant of the Armenian National Movement (MNR). The bomb was disarmed in the afternoon of 31 March. Other drivers warned Toranian as he was driving in the outskirts of Paris that there was an unusual object under his car. Bomb disposal experts of the Paris police headquarters were alerted and were able to disarm the bomb. The detonator, which was to have been controlled by a string when the car moved off, was faulty.

The MNR subsequently announced: "Ara Toranian was the victim of an assassination attempt that was part of the offensive by the fascist Turkish regime's secret services against the militants of the Armenian cause."

Six months ago, the MNR was supporting the Armenian secret army (ASALA), which has been responsible for a number of attacks, including several in France. Toranian, a very active Armenian militant, has been interrogated several times by the French police, in particular during investigation of the attacks by the Armenian "Orly" group in 1982 and of the assassination attempt on 23 May 1982 against Hamo Moskovian, a Lebanese of Armenian origin.

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CSO: 4619/45

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

PAPER INTERVIEWS SOVIET ARMENIAN CITIZEN

GF251726 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 18 Mar 83 p 3

[Report on Interview with D. Mesrobyan, an immigrant Armenian SSR citizen, by AZTAG correspondent E. Hovanesyan--date, place not given]

[Excerpts] We are feeling guilty about our ignorance. Yes, indeed, because we felt obliged to know. We used to stop every Armenian who came to Armenia and urge them to talk. It did not not make any difference that we were being pursued or others were being thrown in prison for establishing relations with overseas Armenians. But we were never able to learn anything.

However, it is not worth it to be full of fake "heroism" now that I am far from danger. My only consolation is that these lines will be read by those "patriot" tourists whom we used to beg at the airport and beside the hotels to take letters with them to publish overseas and who "touched by the longing for the fatherland" would refuse, using the pretext that they were scared. Their explanation for this was: "we want to see the fatherland again." For whom was the biggest danger? For us who were pleading or for you if you agreed?

I do not believe those who say that they have been in Armenia and have not seen such things. If you wanted to, you would have seen it but you did not want to see because seeing means confessing and that it itself means working. Thus, not seeing is better for "coming back."

But didn't you know very well who were the people allowed to leave that country. Didn't you know that they will never allow anybody who can say something is here and that the ones who came to visit our country were the only hope?

Regarding the situation of the Armenians overseas, I can say that the people of the first Christian state are waltzing around an idol called "Armenia" as in the heathen periods. And woe to who dares to criticize the idol. It is not important even if that criticism is coming from the idol itself.

It is not important that the participants of the rite are more concerned with the liberation of the Armenian lands on the Turkish side--without individual

participation indeed, but with the assistance of a magic wand--and not with our brothers in Armenia who are being tortured, or with our [word omitted] and history language that is gradually vanishing in Armenia. The important thing is to have an idol and clap in a religious ecstasy. It would have been more true to bracket the word religious because our religion in its "developments" has been converted to Marxism.

Finally, if you accept it or not it will be the same because Yerevan and the Armenian people around it will be the base and core of tomorrow's Armenia if we will ever see that desired day. However, the awakening of national self-awareness and the spiritual rebirth to resist evil has begun in there and it is not possible to stop it anymore. Even an experienced scoundrel and "the most genius leader of all times" such as Andropov cannot stop the movement because it began after our endurance reached the limit. If the Armenians overseas would have endeavored to know more about the Soviet Government then they would now be convinced that from now on the number of victims will increase and consequently the number of noble intellectuals will decrease because the movement encompasses all classes with no difference in age.

Whether the Armenians in diasporra are obliged or want to assist Armenia, that can only be decided by you, to ask will be stupid. Whether they are able or not, I will declare with full responsibility that yes, they are. Moreover, without that assistance the victims will double and the period of struggle will expand, while the dimensions of unity will be more difficult due to the gradually deepening estrangement.

The ideological, economic, political and international condition of the USSR has reached such a bankruptcy that we have very little time to operate. The expected changes can be extremely fateful and bloody. The Armenians need sagacity and farsightedness as they never needed it before. When the enemy fully encircles us, we will be the ones to be "sacrificed" on the altar in the name of "love of mankind."

As previous empires, through its development the Soviet Union will fall. It is not our job to destroy the empire but we are obliged to ready for that day. The national strategy must be established today to avoid the same catastrophe of 1917-18. The organization of this is impossible in Armenia due to known reasons.

However, the increasing support for the Tashnaks in Yerevan allows the management of that vital work from here. Moreover, they are waiting your intervention in Armenia. It is wrong to think that you might endanger the people there. There is no greater danger than being deprived of books, religion and the right of thought and speech. If you want to accept the fact that the killings are not in masses now but are only confined to the chosen ones such as the best intellectuals, nationals and believers and you want to regard it as acceptable that converting a whole nation into a sheep herd, keeping it in continuous fear and sentencing many for alleged robbery and lying; therefore the intervention is dangerous. In addition to this, is it necessary to explain that Soviet communism is only scared of light and revelation. They impose pressure and want to put an end to brave will because they do not understand any other language than force.

CSO: 4605/64

PROSECUTOR DISCUSSES FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION, AL-SADAT CASE

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3050, 25 Mar 83 pp 4-7

[Interview with Public Prosecutor 'Atif Zaki by Makram Muhammad Ahmad: "The Public Prosecutor, in an Important Interview with AL-MUSAWWAR"]

[Text] [Question] Mr public prosecutor, I would like to ask you at the beginning about the true reason, if one might use that expression, for the emergence of corruption, whether it has actually assumed the dimensions of a phenomenon, and what its scope in Egyptian society is.

I am directing the question to you because you perhaps know more than anyone else, by virtue of your position, which provides an opportunity for monitoring the negative features of the society through the medium of numerous cases, especially those related to acts of trespass against public funds.

[Answer] Everyone is talking about various different causes for this phenomenon, on which Egyptian society does not have a monopoly. Some of the causes that we hear about might perhaps be real ones, while not constituting the essence and source of the phenomenon. However, I do believe that the wars Egypt has waged, starting with the 1948 war, have had something to do with the emergence of this phenomenon. With wars, cases of exploitation arise, the war rich make their appearance, influence-peddlers appear, and black market merchants, who exploit a shortage in the supply of goods, emerge. More to the point, the people in charge of affairs are perennially distracted from the domestic situation, or, in the best of cases, divide their attention between the affairs of war and domestic matters, so that surveillance grows weak and opportunities for laxity increase. I am not belittling the significance of the other factors about which people are talking a great deal, and I am not belittling the importance of the climate as a basic element in the spread of the phenomenon or the exacerbation of its grievous nature, but I would like to assert that the successive wars that Egypt has waged, and Egypt's preoccupation with foreign affairs at the expense of domestic ones, were the basis and point of origin of the phenomenon, starting with the case of the defective weapons that the 1948 war produced and going up to the many phenomena that we noticed after the war in Yemen.

[Question] However, Mr public prosecutor, people generally say that wars build people and create nations!

[Answer] That is true. War builds up the overwhelming majority of the people, polishing them and bringing out their mettle, but we are still faces with another, different phenomenon, which we cannot turn our eyes from; with war, the few who want to enrich themselves at the expense of the nation and at the expense of the society come to the surface.

Perhaps, for this reason, I can assert once again that the people who are involved in corruption do not represent a large percentage of the people; rather, they are a very limited percentage.

Now, as we are embarking on a new stage, in which our attention is being concentrated on domestic matters, and economic problems, and Egypt's other basic problems, are becoming the object of the ruler's attention and his main preoccupation, at this point the negative features that exist in the society are becoming more obvious. What is new is that we have exposed the corruption and laid bare the places where it existed. Because the phenomenon was not previously the object of serious prosecution, and because exposing the places where it openly existed was something people were not accustomed to and the man on the street was not familiar with, some people exaggerate the scope of the phenomenon and exaggerate the extent of the corruption. However, I can say that there is no other way to expose the scope of corruption, whether it is large or small, than through the power of the law. As long as we are proceeding to expose corruption, expose the places where it exists, and lay bare the people who are involved in it, that must be a source of reassurance, because exposing corruption, in itself, constitutes a deterrent to anyone who lets himself be seduced into proceeding along the road of it.

I would like to state, in brief, that we actually help to limit corruption and eliminate it, the more we expose the corruption that exists.

[Question] Mr public prosecutor, if we want to define corruption in its current manifestations in Egyptian society, what would the definition be?

[Answer] Corruption is the activity and behavior of a few people, behavior that is not upright, behavior which leads to damage to the interests of the nation and the country, with the goal of the attainment of personal material and non-material benefit at the expense of the benefits of the group.

However, I also consider that corruption is not just the embezzlement of money!

Corruption can lie in indifference and laxity, in the loss of the work ethic; corruption can be equal to a lack of production; corruption can take numerous other forms when the subsidies the government sets aside on behalf of broad groups of people do not get to the people who are basically entitled to them, when some people get rich from these subsidies and their own fortunes swell as a result of the deductions made from the government's income and the rights of the group, what do we call that? We call it corruption, in its comprehensive, broader sense.

[Question] Mr public prosecutor, in the course of your long journey from the position of deputy public prosecutor to your current position, you have no doubt seen a great deal and achieved a great deal, especially since you have perceived

numerous social blemishes which the transcripts of the thousands of cases that have passed in front of you have disclosed.

Mr public prosecutor, I would like you to talk to us frankly about the social blemishes that you may perhaps have noticed in the course of your long journey. To put it more clearly, what must the Egyptians resist within themselves, as Egypt is now entering into a new stage which is dominated by new values, integrity, the sanctity of work and respect for production?

[Answer] What the Egyptians must implant within themselves again is the value of sincerity in work. We undoubtedly lack this, and this is what is giving Egypt an unhealthy climate in which numerous negative values dominate. Go to any department: what do you see? Ordinary employees unfairly treating the citizens they are dealing with. These people are supposed to be at the service of their brothers, but instead we see a strange relationship, one that is dominated by arbitrariness and disdain. Unless we rid ourselves of the spirit of selfishness, orient public activity toward the benefit of the general group and not twist its goals so that it is in the service of personal interests, we will not be correcting the condition of the individual or the condition of the group.

[Question] How can one proceed in that direction? The strange, astonishing thing, Mr public prosecutor, is that in spite of the proliferation of laws in Egypt, there is no adequate deterrent to make everyone stick to their duties.

[Answer] I differ with you here. The penalties in the law are deterrent, but the enticements constitute a stronger motive among aberrant persons than the deterrent force of the penalties. Enticements seduce aberrant persons to commit sinful acts and forget the deterrent punishment that is stipulated for them. Nonetheless, the nation's conduct does not depend on the inhibiting factors of the law alone — the inhibiting factors of religion must also be nurtured within ourselves. Religion is the shield of us all, but religion, as I see it in Egypt, is being applied only as ritual. We must implant it more deeply as conduct, a way of life, and as religious law.

Let us ask ourselves frankly whether everyone who keeps the fast during Ramadan and does the five prayers shows respect for God in his dealings with other people. Had the values of religion been embodied as conduct among people, a new spirit would have dominated the society. This demands that we review all our educational values, that we resume raising young people in an atmosphere of superior morality and that we teach them that religion is not just the performance of rituals but is a mode of behavior that one should emulate.

[Question] There is a statement current among Egyptians by which people draw a distinction between the need for commitment to religious rituals and for keeping up with what is prevalent in practical life. The Egyptians always say "This is one thing, and that is something different." This is a real embodiment of what you were expressing regarding the issue of making a distinction between religion as ritual and religion as conduct.

[Answer] I believe that the review that is now being made of the laws, and the fact that they are being brought back to their Islamic roots and sources, can

also help give body to the conduct which we are calling for, because the Islamic religion and its teachings indeed represent the most exalted of systems. It is for this reason that foreign systems have drawn on it in many of their laws, and we are the people who are most entitled to put the provisions of Islamic law into practice. Thanks be to God, we are proceeding along this road.

[Question] Mr public prosecutor, turning away from generalizations to particulars, to the case that is in front of you now, the case of 'Ismat al-Sadat, what measures have you taken in regard to that?

[Answer] I believe that we will finish copying and photographing all the papers in the case in the next few days, so that we will be able to start investigating matters that are separate from the appeal case that has been lodged before the higher court of values.

[Question] Might we seek a further explanation?

[Answer] The suit was filed against 'Ismat al-Sadat and his sons: that is the scope of the case the court of values reviewed and on which it issued its recent verdict. This is the scope of the appeal that the higher court of values will review. However, the verdict that was issued by the court of values, at its primary level, involved some officials. It happened that the government requested the office of the public prosecutor to investigate the incidents that involved those officials of whom mention was made in the materials supporting the verdict.

[Question] What did the government request, specifically?

[Answer] It demanded that all the incidents concerning all the officials with whom the case dealt be investigated.

[Question] How many officials are involved?

[Answer] Among them there are three people who were ministers at the time the verdict was issued. One of them, Eng Fu'ad Abu Zaghlal, was not a minister when the incidents attributed to him took place, since those that were attributed to him occurred at the time he was president of the Iron and Steel Company. Then there is Mr Nasif Tahun, president of the Nasir Bank, who was a minister when mention of his name came up in some of the incidents in the case. There also was an additional number of senior officials, heads of authorities and departments, and some people from public sector companies. In general, I can say now that the investigation will include all the incidents involving violations of the law. If it appears that these incidents constitute a crime for which anyone is to be questioned, the investigation will certainly deal with him.

[Question] Will Eng Sulayman Mitwalli, whom the verdict has almost exempted from responsibility, with reliance on the reasons that appeared in the material supporting the verdict, be questioned?

[Answer] The statement that has reached me requests that an investigation be made into everyone, and the evidence will be drawn from the investigation of the incidents.

[Question] Will an investigation be made into these people in their capacity as ministers, or on the basis that some of them no longer have the rank of minister in the new cabinet?

[Answer] The investigation will be made into the former ministers in their capacity as ordinary persons.

[Question] However, the incidents that were mentioned occurred at a time when they were ministers in the government.

[Answer] We are starting the investigation now, after they have been removed from the rank of minister.

[Question] Isn't there a special law on the questioning of ministers?

[Answer] Yes, there is a special law on the questioning of ministers, but that applies to people who are currently ministers who have not been relieved of the rank of ministers, and this is based on an earlier verdict by the court of cassation which states that former ministers are to be tried under the ordinary conditions. Another verdict by the court of cassation was also issued, in 1979, which stated that since the law on the trial of ministers, Law 79 for 1958, does not stipulate that the court which is assigned to try ministers (which is to be composed of 12 members - six counsellors of cassation and six members of the People's Assembly) — since that law does not stipulate that this body alone, to the exclusion of others, is the one which tries ministers, there is nothing to prevent the ordinary judiciary, which possesses the basic jurisdiction, from trying them.

[Question] There might perhaps be minor officials who have become implicated in some incidents out of a lack of awareness or courage. We are faced with a clear, explicit admission on the part of one of these people, who, in responding to the questions of the socialist prosecutor, said, "What could I do? How could I say no? I agreed to everything 'Isamat al-Sadat and his children asked for without close examination or investigation, without asking for any evidence or documents, because I could not ignore their relationship to the president."

[Answer] I do not want to anticipate the investigation on the basis of which the status of everyone whose name has appeared in the case will be determined.

[Question] When will the investigation start and how long will it take?

[Answer] The prosecutor's office's work on all investigations is supposed to take place with the requisite speed, without hastiness, so that no one's rights will be infringed.

[Question] Some ministers and officials consider that the statements made in their regard, in the material supporting the verdict, were made without their being interrogated, and they are very anxious to have their status determined quickly.

[Answer] Speed in the determination of people's status is indeed important, because everyone wants to be reassured, not just the people whose names appeared

in the material on the case but also public opinion, which wants to be reassured about the truth.

[Question] How long will the investigation take?

[Answer] I hope that it will end as soon as possible, so that everyone can feel reassured - the people themselves above all else.

[Question] In a month?

[Answer] I hope so.

[Question] What bodies will cooperate with you in the performance of the investigations, which will include dozens of facts?

[Answer] I asked the counsellor and minister of justice to provide the prosecutor's agency with backup in the form of counsellors who have previous experience in prosecutorial work, so that they can fill the existing shortage of specialized personnel in the prosecutor's office.

[Question] How many counsellors did you ask for?

[Answer] The number has not yet been determined.

[Question] Will they be court chairman?

[Answer] For the most part they will be appeals court counsellors, and they will be delegated to work in the office of the public prosecutor during the investigation of the case, in order to make up the shortage. If the number had been sufficient we would not have had to make this request.

[Question] Could we talk about the dividing lines between the investigation the socialist public prosecutor has made and the investigation the public prosecutor will make?

[Answer] The office of the public prosecutor's investigation is taking place in the context of crimes against general law.

[Question] What about the socialist prosecutor?

[Answer] The socialist prosecutor's investigation is made in the context of political crimes. However, in addition to crimes against the general law, the office of the public prosecutor conducts investigations into crimes that are stipulated by special laws. The context of the socialist public prosecutor's investigation is for the most part to unearth political crimes.

[Question] Are there any dividing lines between political crimes and crimes that are punishable by general law?

[Answer] The lines are clear in the law itself. The bases of crimes against public law are specified, clear and well known, since the investigation is made

into an incident which is specified in itself. As regards the socialists public prosecutor, his investigation looks into overall conduct. Take for example 'Ismat al-Sadat. From his overall conduct, evidence appeared that there had been political crimes for which he was liable.

In our office, concerning crimes against general law, we find ourselves faced with a specific incident whose bases must be specifically proved in a certain manner, through unequivocal, legal items of proof.

[Question] Isn't evidence enough?

[Answer] Evidence is not enough. There have to be unequivocal, legal items of proof.

[Question] Will you investigate the evidence item by item again?

[Answer] With God's permission.

[Question] Will it be as if there had been no previous investigation whatever?

[Answer] The situation might require that there be cross-examinations and that certain witnesses be heard again, because, if a witness is questioned then makes a statement before the office of the public prosecutor which is different from a statement he had made before the socialist prosecutor, we will cross-examine him in order to arrive at the truth, which is our goal, first and foremost.

[Question] Has the case that has been handed over to you taken the form of a petition of a suit or a declaration before the public prosecutor?

[Answer] It is in the form of a declaration which the office of the public prosecutor received to investigate specific incidents that appeared in the verdict of the court of values.

[Question] Doesn't the verdict issued by the court of values provide any immunity regarding these incidents?

[Answer] If the incidents involve persons who have not been questioned, and who are not dealt with in the indictment, I believe that the office of the public prosecutor has been given the freedom to investigate the incidents that are assigned to it. Otherwise, there would have been no room for the indictment and justice would not have taken its normal course with this interrogated person, in the investigation or in the disposition of the case.

[Question] As far as 'Ismat al-Sadat goes, he has been held to account before the court of values for a political crime, but the material supporting the verdict specifies particular incidents that constitute a number of crimes that are punishable by general law. Does that mean that the office of the public prosecutor will hold an investigation into 'Ismat al-Sadat again regarding these incidents?

Will the material supporting the verdict be considered to take the form of a declaration against him?

[Answer] If the situation demands that an accusation of a crime against public law be made against him, we will make it.

[Question] From that we may understand that the office of the public prosecutor will resume the investigation into 'Ismat al-Sadat for incidents which constitute crimes in general law.

[Answer] If the situation demands that an investigation be made on him, the investigation will be made. If it requires that an investigation be made on the facts of his interrogation and that he be investigated again, the investigation again, the investigation will be made into him.

[Question] Your excellency the public prosecutor, let me be more explicit: why do we consider what is contained in the material supporting the verdict to be a declaration against the officials whose names were mentioned, while we do not consider the incidents that were included relative to 'Ismat al-Sadat to be a declaration against the crimes against the law, which have been numerous in the case, such as embezzlement, forgery, threats, tax evasion, and so forth, as appeared in the supporting materials?

[Answer] If the investigation brings out this sort of incident, there will be no way to avoid giving him an ordinary trial. Let me repeat once again, so that the matter will be clear: if a crime against general law is established against him, the matter will require that he be tried for that, and he will be.

[Question] Have you asked that immunity be waived in the case of the people to be investigated who are covered by parliamentary immunity?

[Answer] We have not yet started the investigation. If the situation requires that immunity be waived so that we can question them as accused persons, we will do so. If the situation does not require that anyone be questioned as an accused person, there will be no grounds for waiving immunity. To put it more clearly, if the situation demands that an official who enjoys immunity be questioned as an accused person, we will demand that immunity be waived in his case.

[Question] As regards the incident that appeared by coincidence in the material supporting the verdict bearing on the \$7.5 million that the government lost in a poultry transaction, that Egypt did not obtain, but for which money was withdrawn from a foreign bank - an incident that is not related to 'Ismat al-Sadat but is related to senior officials in the Supply Ministry - why hasn't the office of the public prosecutor's investigation into that been completed yet?

[Answer] Because the investigation is still underway.

[Question] However, it has taken a long time to investigate the incident. Let me be frank with you: speed in interrogation, without damaging anyone's rights, constitutes a form of deterrence, and here I am quoting your own words, which you made at the start of the investigation.

[Answer] I believe that the investigation has been given a stronger impetus now, in this case specifically and in other ones, since I have assumed the position

of public prosecutor. I am concerned that we should give a stronger impetus to this sort of case, which concerns public property.

[Question] Let us go back to the 'Isamat al-Sadat case. Will there be an open opportunity to hear new witnesses?

[Answer] The investigation will be an ordinary one. If the situation demands that any witnesses be questioned, we will question them without inhibitions. Otherwise, how can one determine the truth? The people whom the investigation demands be questioned will be questioned, whether they are witnesses or accused persons; since the goal is to determine the truth, we will of course question everyone who must be questioned.

[Question] Mr public prosecutor, permit me to say that there is a feeling on the part of some people, who are ignorant and whose mission might perhaps be to fish in murky waters, that the case has gone to the public prosecutor for other reasons!

[Answer] The case was handed over to the office of the public prosecutor so that we could determine the truth. There are facts that the office of the public prosecutor must investigate, because it is the basic body that investigates criminal incidents; we do not have any commitments to people who do not want to understand things in the normal way or want to fish in murky waters.

[Question] The previous case, the case of Rashad 'Uthman, may perhaps have spread about this misconception, since the findings made by the public prosecutor and the socialist public prosecutor as regards the determination of the status of a former minister and a deputy prime minister, whose names appeared in the material supporting the verdict, were totally at variance.

[Answer] Every incident has its own circumstances. The body with original jurisdiction over the investigation is the office of the public prosecutor, and there is no higher authority than the office of the public prosecutor except for the law.

[Question] What is the role of the minister of justice in this sort of case?

[Answer] It is the minister of Justice who sends notice to the office of the public prosecutor requesting an investigation into the incidents by proxy for the government, since he is its representative. Are you afraid that there might be outside interference? Say so frankly and without embarrassment.

There isn't the slightest interference, because the office of the public prosecutor, as it investigates, is given full powers as the investigating magistrate.

There is a verdict which involved three members of the cabinet. It is in the interests of the government to know the truth, it is in the interests of the man in the street to know the truth, and it is also in their own interests that the truth be revealed. The truth will become known only through the original agency of the investigation, and that is the agency investigating general crimes. If it is apparent that these facts constitute a crime against general law, the person responsible must be held to account for them.

[Question] In order that I can avoid feeling that I have overstepped any bounds, can I say that the investigation will start as soon as possible, that the public prosecutor is anxious for that to happen so that the truth can become apparent, that there is a group of appeals counsellors who will start working as soon as the activities of copying out the originals in the case is completed, that the investigation regarding incidents that do not involve the appeal made before the higher court of values is going on, and consequently that the investigation will not have to wait, indeed might start at once?

Can I state that the investigation will deal with the incidents in the case, one by one, and that they will be re-examined with the objective of arriving at unequivocal proof on the bases of the crime?

Can I also state that the statements by ministers and officials will be heard and, if it is proved that there is a possibility of levelling charges, immunity will be waived in the case of the people who have it? Can I state, finally, that 'Ismat al-Sadat and his sons will be investigated by the public prosecutor regarding the crimes that were cited in the verdict of the court of values if the situation so requires?

[Answer] You may say so, and the office of the public prosecutor will do everything in its power in order rapidly to define the status of the people whose names have appeared in the case. The office of the prosecutor will not be restricted by anything outside the scope of the case.

[Question] Some officials are in a hurry to state their position. Haven't you received any notices from them, seeking to have the investigation speeded up?

[Answer] I actually received a notice from Eng Fu'ad Abu Zaghlal on the same day the verdict was issued, asking for an investigation, and he attached a number of statements to his notice on the incidents that have been attributed to him.

[Question] Is he the only one who has submitted a notice?

[Answer] I believe so.

[Question] Will the office of the public prosecutor permit the defense to attend the investigations from the time they begin?

[Answer] The investigation by the office of the public prosecutor is one where relative openness is considered a guarantee. The accused and his lawyer have the right to attend, from the start of the investigation, because we have no interest in preventing the accused person's lawyer from attending.

[Question] Have you received all the papers on the case?

[Answer] I asked the chairman of the higher court of values for all the papers on the case. He was so gracious as to send them, and we are now copying them as rapidly as possible.

[Question] What will the course of the case be after it is investigated?

[Answer] If the situation requires that an official be handed over to a criminal trial, he will be handed over to a criminal trial. If it is apparent that the incident does not constitute a crime and is expressive only of administrative responsibility, the matter in that case will be left to the administrative body and its business with the person responsible.

[Question] What are the boundaries separating administrative responsibility from criminal responsibility?

[Answer] Criminal responsibility is a specific crime that is determined by law. It has a specific penalty. In it, the person responsible is handed over to the body that tries him and rules that a penalty is to be imposed on him. Administrative responsibility is embodied in the violation of administrative statutes and laws and is not as serious in status as a crime against general law.

[Question] Thank you, your excellency the public procecutor. We hope that you will forgive us for having pressed you with regard to some of the queries.

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CSO: 4504/295

SPEECHES, REALITIES IN UPCOMING ELECTIONS

Casablanca LAMALIF in French No 144, Mar-Apr 83 pp 18-22

[Article by Mohamed Jibril]

[Text] As soon as the announcement of local and legislative elections was officially made in the speech from the Throne, a certain unrest became apparent in the different political groups and alliances, the sign of competition that is beginning to look more like a scuffle inasmuch as for the most part, it can be observed in the conservative parties.

The election campaign got off to a start with a bitter controversy over the "artificial" or "outdated" nature of certain parties, some of which have only recently been established, while others are now being set up. It was actually the announcement of the creation of a new party organized by Prime Minister Maati Bouabid that gave rise to a very lively reaction in the Istiqlal in January, along with manifest reservations on the part of Independents and the People's Movement.

The next elections will therefore be clearly marked by the discord and bitter rivalries between the different parties and it is to be feared that this will in no way help to clarify the debate, inasmuch as the inflated tone of speeches will be accompanied by growing discredit among a public viewing them as biased and insincere.

Another characteristic of the elections: All political factions definitely want to participate in them, with the current status quo being accepted by all as an unsurpassable limit within which one must try to preserve, increase or gain positions, whether in the corridors of power or on the political scene in general.

Discord and Rivalries

It was therefore Maati Bouabid's creation of a new party that launched the election campaign. During the meetings he held with leaders in the different cities since January (meetings at which discussions were sometimes heated), Bouabid once again took up the issues of the platform of the new grouping, which will be called Al Ittihad ad-Doustouri (Constitutional Union, UC), issues which, it is true, are not totally new because the RNI [National Rally of Independents] had adopted them at the time of its formation nearly 6 years

ago. It is a matter of responding to the "concern for filling the real vacuum and of fighting against the disarray noted in young circles in particular." The objectives set by the UC were formulated at the 8 March meeting in Casa-blanca in which 500 persons reportedly participated. Essentially, it is a question of "the organization and participation of the post-independence generation in all the country's activities, economic, social and cultural justice, and defense of the territorial unity within the framework of the constitutional monarchy." This theme of the "vacuum to be filled" is therefore common to the RNI and this new party and one can understand why, without going so far as violent denunciation, the RNI would have, through its President Osman, expressed concerns over the "splintering of national political life (which) confuses any overall view, distorts the democratic interplay and may lead to a political vacuum" (AL MAGHRIB, 23 February 1983).

It was in this connection (and as part of the muted controversy) that Osman called for "orderly political practices" in which three essential factions would be distinguishable: the right, the center and the left, with the RNI situated as the "progressive moderate faction."

He also emphasized the need to present clear programs to the voters. "It is not at all enough for a party to assert that it 'defends the monarchy and the constitution.' It must also propose practical solutions to the specific problems of education, agriculture, public finance, health, unemployment, and so on."

Thus, at a time when party acronyms are tending to increase in number, the need to set themselves apart is essential, even if extremely difficult.

For its part, the Istiqlal does not worry about nuances and condemns all "circumstantial parties" that come into being because of the elections. Boucetta did not mince his words: "Every time there are elections, political parties are formed for one specific purpose: political opportunism and the abuse of power" (L'OPINION, 13 January 1983). These are the two essential criticisms made of the "circumstantial parties" in the name of a historical legitimacy that the Istiqlal ceaselessly invokes and that caused Bouabid to say that on that level, his party had "no complexes, because nationalism is neither the characteristic nor the monopoly of any group." Likewise, the RNI organ AL MAGHRIB, warned against the "totalitarian demons" (meaning the Istiqlal). As for the National Democratic Party (PND) of Aarsalane Al Jadidi, at its meetings and in the press, it constantly denounces "the partisan policies followed since independence by certain traditional parties," accused at the outset of having grown rich at the expense of "our people, who live in poverty" (LE DEMOCRATE, 11 March 1983). Ahardane's People's Movement (MP) recalls that it was against the single party system that it rose up at its very creation following independence and in veiled terms, expresses profound reservations about the Istiqlal, as well as recent parties (albeit less aggressively).

Conservative Constellation

Within the conservative constellation from which the government majority is recruited, "interlocking atoms" are rare, not to say nonexistent. It is

difficult for the appearance of a given party not to be viewed by another as an incursion into its territory or a limitation on its expansion. The RNI warned in vain that the debate must be kept "calm" and that a "sense of responsibilities" must be preserved; it could not prevent incompatibilities from being expressed openly. The debate has sunk very low, AL MAGHRIB notes, observing that the various organs of the partisan press are "more filled with pamphlets than they are analyses and reflections" and that "what is written is far wide of what is said at meetings, which are reduced to verbal sparring on a (very) low level" (12 March 1982). It is true that the RNI is needlessly concerned because, already affected by the split from which the PND emerged, it may lose even more seats to the UC, the latest comer. Consequently, in the controversy that promises to be lively, it tries to stand out by exhibiting more cold-bloodedness.

One noteworthy thing should be pointed out: the absence of any open controversy between conservative and leftist parties. It is true that the absence of newspapers of the USFP [Socialist Union of Popular Forces] (Al Mouharir and Liberation) plays a part here, but the organs of the other factions (Al Bayane, Anoual, Al Ittihad al Watani) remain rather reserved and do not make the conservative parties, new or old, their main targets. For the time being then, the dissension, whether open or muted, pits parties of the conservative majority (parties in government and the RNI) against one another.

Therefore, before examining the speeches given on the left, we shall try to see how the conservative parties distinguish and define themselves. In being pitted against each other, how do they present themselves?

If only because of inertia, the Istiqlal and the MP seem to have the least trouble defining themselves.

The commemoration of the 39th anniversary of the Independence Manifesto in January provided the Istiqlal with the now classic opportunity of giving its familiar discourse along three main lines: "historic" nationalism; "egalitarian" reformism; and pragmatism (in governmental practice, education and diplomacy or other departments headed by Istiqlal members). It is always by virtue of historic legitimacy that this party aims to set itself apart from others and it tirelessly invokes its past struggle for independence (which others consider excessive, given the fact that the Istiqlal of the colonial period can also be claimed by other factions that are no longer part of the current Istiqlal). Reference to the past sometimes has unexpected illustrations: Ghallab spoke of the filiation of the ideals of the Istiqlal, which would even allegedly go as far back as Idriss II (L'OPINION, 12 January 1983). It is in this same vein that the Istiqlal now presents itself as the harbinger of basic Arab-Islamic values.

Thus it pits the deep-rootedness of those values which it claims as its own against the "political professionalism lacking in all nationalist value" to which the formation of new parties leads. The justification of the Istiqlal is the reference to values and a program, compared with which the "professionals" of politics are presented as seeking solely to gain control of power or parliamentary seats when they have "no pre-established program (and) no popular base" (L'OPINION, 16 January 1983).

The egalitarian program is continuously evoked with the struggle for independence. It is allegedly aimed at "economic, social and cultural independence," implying "the establishment of democracy, the elimination of social and regional disparities, the contribution to the Muslim renaissance and the safeguarding of the religious and moral values of the Moroccan people." Emphasis is not placed on concrete reforms to be undertaken, but on general principles and good intentions. It is within this framework that the action of various Istiqlal ministers is praised: They are doing their best, it is said. But a curious reservation is found here (one customary in government of "uncomfortable cohabitation"): While praising the action of its ministers, the Istiqlal still does not want to support the government totally as such: "Despite conclusive work (on the governmental level), we have attended a whole host of seminars, lectures and speeches. The government must move into action in order to solve urgent problems and proceed to make reforms announced long ago," said one party official, Hassan Haloui, in Casablanca. But how then is one to justify participation in a government that does not aim to carry out the program of the Istiqlal in the economic and social domains, a program worked out in 1963 and brandished by the party as the "Manifesto of Egalitarianism" -- that is, a basic text? Haoui explains: "We did not have the opportunity to do everything and all at the same time because we have never held power. Nevertheless, our goal is to succeed in applying our program. Consequently, we are in no way content with the current situation. All that we are now trying to do is to lighten the burden of the deprived classes and reduce the gaps existing between the social classes" (L'OPINION, 16 January 1983). If, indeed, such an attempt was made (but where?), one has to admit that the results are not obvious!

Vacuum or No Vacuum?

In other words, the Istiqlal wishes to distinguish itself from the government, while drawing up a positive record for its own ministers.

Regarding the democratic experience, the overall record is fairly satisfactory and democracy is described as a "precious achievement that must be preserved and consolidated," inasmuch as the Istiqlal has not "ceased to work to see that there is no vacuum regarding democratic institutions," writes Idriss Kaitouni in L'OPINION (with the indispensable presence in institutions and power being a constant of the Istiqlal).

Nevertheless, a few reservations are formulated regarding the democratic experience. It is important to remedy the "imperfections" that have marked its implementation, to "remedy insufficiencies found in the operation of representative institutions" and to "guarantee the masses free expression of their will." Just as following the preceding elections, the Istiqlal considered that the results did not reflect its real importance and consequently, it now aspires to a larger number of seats and a wider margin of action within the institutions (whose "operation" must be revised -- let it be noted that the question of the prerogatives of institutions and their real power of control is not brought up).

The People's Movement is also defined by its origins: It was not formed during the "painful circumstances" following independence, labeled as the period of hegemony of a single party. The MP therefore considers that its emergence alone was a factor in the establishment of democracy, inasmuch as it coincides with the promulgation of the Dahir on public freedoms in 1958 that permitted a diversity of political express. The Seventh Congress of the MP, held in Marrakech in February, was once again an opportunity to formulate the party's leitmotivs (through its large attendance, the party wished to demonstrate its durability). If the concern for exhibiting a program is not always felt in this movement (except in the case of some leaders, a few of whom were expelled after publishing a document criticizing its doctrinal and organizational inadequacies), it is nevertheless true that an effort has been made to support the populist rhetoric and the defense of "authenticity" (of the Berber culture) through resolutions intended to be better documented and more detailed.

Essentially then, the MP discourse remains based on reference to origins, marking a hostility to the hegemony of a political party or an excessively urban and monolithic vision of Morocco. Moreover, the reference to cultural specificity, in which the Berber element is essential, is permanent. If the Arab-Islamic patrimony and the language of the Koran are "venerated," one constantly recalls the existence of spoken languages (the Amazigh and, in the south, the Hassani) and the authentic cultural heritage that has given the country its personality and that is "rich in production in the realms of thought and the arts" (AL HARAKA, 22 February 1983).

The third basic line of the MP: social justice, understood as aimed at helping the rural world by decreasing regional disparities and "freeing the citizen from any exploitation and any oppression." Following the example of the Istiqlal, the MP remains aloof from the economic and social policy followed by the government, although participating in it. It nevertheless considers that the general outline is good, but that practice has its negative aspects. Speaking before the Seventh Congress, Aherdane emphasized that "we have always, in Parliament, the government and in our meetings, appealed for true and effective austerity and for rooting out corruption, putting an end to theft, whether large or small, and removing the suspicious and all those who have been the target of founded accusations, whether they be parties or individuals."

The People's Movement is therefore defined by its origins -- that is, its rejection of hegemony, but it still expresses some reservations about the "artificial creation" of parties, which might help damage the "balance" needed for "stability" in the country (even though it reserves its sharpest arrows for the Istiqlal, which the political resolution of the Seventh Congress condemned for the "inadequacies" manifested by the minister of foreign affairs). Another constant theme: the "defense" of the rural world, which combines with the rustic evocation of the country ("our primal mother" which "gives us our food") a whole set of claims essentially dealing with the need to reduce regional disparities through development and improvements in living conditions in the country. As for the agrarian reform, its definition remains vague. There is very succinct talk of a reform of agrarian structures, simplification of property conservation, strengthening of the small farms and cooperatives, extension of the agricultural investment code to dry farming and grazing zones, and development of

farm loans, which now affect only 9 percent of all rural people and which must be turned into a cooperative bank adapted to the needs of agriculture. At the same time, there is a series of demands resembling those of the large landowners dealing with support for production (mechanization, seed and fertilizer at "suitable" prices) and marketing. Finally, a series of technical measures to be undertaken are enumerated in order to help livestock raising, grazing and semi-desert zones.

Rural World

The "defense" of the rural world, which must no longer be left out and which must be able to benefit from "scientific and technical progress," naturally remains vital and reflects the desire to promote the different regions (undoubtedly fostering the development of local elites) more than any clear vision of the means to do so, especially since the MP is careful not to pose the problem in terms of social strata (as not only the left would do, but the Istiqlal as well), but rather, confines itself to the defense of the rural world, taken as an overall, undifferentiated entity. However, one can see a certain evolution marked by this Seventh Congress over previous congresses. There is a greater concern for formulating solutions, for speaking a more "technical" language, instead of limiting itself to merely lyrical demands. This probably reflects the evolution of the very rank and file of the MP, which is no longer purely rural and which, in its younger and elite (leaders) ranks, has other requirements (formulated in a rather abrupt way by certain MP dissidents, both leaders and members of Parliament, who published a very critical appeal denouncing the doctrinal and organizational vacuum of the party; would these elements be tempted, in the current election context, to set themselves up as a separate organization?).

On the issue of the defense of the rural world, the MP is no longer alone in the arena. It has just been joined by a party born of a split in the RNI, the National Democratic Party (PND), with the nuance that the latter is not particularly concerned with protecting the Berber aspects of the country.

The PND defines itself from the very beginning as opposed to the "partisan policies followed since independence" and it virulently attacks the "political monopoly" and makes other political parties responsible for the country's economic and social situation. Where is one to situate this new party? "The PND grants particular importance to the rural world, which has been left out by the partisan policies followed since independence by some traditional parties."

The rural world and the "lower class districts of the cities" are the target of this party. The goal set would be to pull these groups and areas out of underdevelopment and neglect. Using what means? "Our party does not come with set ideas and a ready-made program, but its thought and program come from the people and their concerns" (statement by PND leader Abdelhamid Kacimi at a meeting in Casablanca; AD DIMOQRATI, 16 March 1983). It rejects "foreign ideas," just as it claims to reject both "rightist and leftist extremism." It even claims the "progressive" label. It is therefore by virtue of its "newness" that the PND wishes to set itself apart from the other parties, which

are made responsible for the main failures registered since independence. One must note here that if this party is not too concerned about refining its discourse and proposals, it nevertheless engages in wide-ranging activity: the organization of a First Congress 8 months ago, then a congress of "democratic" students and a congress of "democratic" women, followed by a congress of young "democrats." In addition, there has been a whole series of meetings throughout the regions on the basic issue: defending the rural population groups and the low-income districts that have been the victims of traditional parties, "which have based their propaganda on hollow slogans in order to build up colossal fortunes" (Moussa Saadi, quoted in LE DEMOCRATE, 11 March 1983). Having said this much, the system as a whole and its democratic virtues are praised, since the evil resides only in the "traditional parties." The virulence of the tone thus remains the characteristic of the party's rhetoric, contrary to the deliberate "calmness" exhibited by the RNI (from which the split in the PND took 57 of the 141 parliamentary seats it originally held).

One would be justified as finding the statements of the PND quite summary and one would expect that during the election campaign, this would lead to escalating controversies and other unpleasant quarrels denounced by AL MAGHRIB (Independents). What is to be feared is the prevalence here and there of a tendency to confer on the debate an outdated regional nature. It is true that this would profit from a general confusion resulting from the absence of overall perspectives and that it is the sign (easily exploitable) of local demands made all the stronger because the regions are in fact neglected, while the demographic explosion, the rural exodus, the expansion of small cities and the growing presence of educated young people lacking motivation and a future are all factors exacerbating the need for regional advancement. However, it is true that the weight of officials and of conservative forces has not thereby diminished, whence a context favoring confusion in the debate.

For its part, the RNI feels a need to preach "clarity." Lacking an identity, it tries to support its liberal aspect. For several weeks, it has also been engaging in great activity, with its leaders traveling the country in order to organize regional congresses. This effort toward self-definition has led to the formula of "social democrat," which the RNI now makes its credo. Emphasis is constantly placed on the virtues of democracy and the liberal values of dialog and openness. The RNI does not wish to present itself as an opponent (although from the very time of its creation, it presented itself as having to "fill the vacuum" left by the nonrepresentation of the post-independence generations, a theme no longer put forward today). Confronted with the various attacks directed at it (by its former friends in the PND, in particular) and the competition it faces, it states that it "systematically refuses to respond to the provocations or to take part in sterile controversies" (AL MAGHRIB of 12 March 1983). Whence the leitmotiv of the need for a "responsible" and "constructive" debate, as the RNI places its "opposition role" (to which few lend credit) precisely in this "constructive" line.

Proposed Society?

Far be it for it to question current structures. It is only their operation which it deems imperfect and it is its solutions and methods which it presents

as the necessary modification and as an alternative (its detractors futilely remind it that in the government, this originality was not manifested!). Whatever the case, the RNI, which seeks an identity more and more as it is bothered by its rivals, now emphasizes a "proposed society" and the "social democratic" model which is a liberal reformism that is also aimed at "development" and "progress" and that tempers both by its reference to modernness and traditional values. "The RNI, while remaining open to any outside contribution to the civilization, reaffirms that Islam is the social and legal basis on questions such as education, private property, the distribution of farmland, decentralization, and so on.... It is also a matter of preserving the equality of citizens without any distinction as to social affiliation or sex." Thus conservatism and liberalism are reconciled and it is to the extent that it wishes to occupy this niche that the RNI becomes the echo of a need that has never found coherent expression: that of a conservative and truly liberal trend (whose bases are still fragile and for which the current rhetoric of the RNI is but an outline whose realization nothing guarantees). One has but to cite here its opposition to the agricultural tax, along with most deputies, while the big landowners continue to take advantage of this rather exorbitant fiscal privilege at a time when the tax burden is heavier than ever for the lower-income groups. The RNI rhetoric therefore preaches a social-democratic proposal that "defends free enterprise and the right to private property," while protecting the "rights of working classes" in a "national society without exaggerated social gaps," along with a policy of "participation and decentralization."

In the meantime, the RNI criticizes the administration, its deficiencies and abuses and speaks of the "exclusion of parties," particularly through the establishment of associations of former students in the different cities (AL MAGHRIB, 13-14 March 1983). Likewise, it questions the neutrality of the administration during the next elections (which could cause one to smile, coming from a party that owes a great deal to the administration, but it is true that the question is not without grounds). This shows the concern of Independents facing the coming elections in which some would predict a certain decline for them.

It is true that there will be a whole host of candidacies in these elections because the small groups are also active, as shown by the Constitutional-Democratic Party, formerly the Chura (PDI), which now contains two groups: one led by Haj Ahmed Maaninou and the other by Thami el Ouazzani (the former denouncing the latter as a usurper, recalling that he left the PDI in 1959 in order to join the UNFP, before going over to the FDIC [expansion unknown] in 1964). Will there be a splitting of the seats to be filled in the communes and Parliament? This prospect whets many appetites!

Warning

It is within this context that the left is also called upon to participate in the election process, despite its reservations. It is true that the USFP has not yet come out clearly, especially since its newspapers have not yet been authorized to publish again and since many of its members and leaders are still in prison.

The USFP will undoubtedly reaffirm a constant position, demanding the neutrality of the administration and nonfalsification of results. For the time being and considering the phase it is going through, this party does not express its current positions publicly.

However, eloquent guidance is supplied by a statement by one of the USFP leaders, Mohamed El Yazghi (editor of AL MOHARRIR), at a meeting with students in Paris, a statement recently published (AL BALAGH AL MAGHRIBI of 19 March). According to El Yazghi, "the battle for the elections does not scare the people and their live forces."

Emphasizing that democracy is a means and an end in itself, it recalls that the 1975 Congress analyzed the experience of the Arab left and brought out the errors it made on democracy, especially the idea that any participation in existing institutions is a "warning to reactionaries."

Rejecting the discussion of "formal, real" democracy as futile, Lyazhi emphasizes that the elections provide an opportunity for a "people's congress on a national level for the examination of our problems and for direct contact with the people's representatives." Change is a matter of "patient, daily action" at all levels.

Recalling that the administration, by falsifying previous elections, tried to contain the real weight of the USFP, it nevertheless affirms that the live forces of the people do not fear elections, contrary to the reactionaries (and their "artificial groupings"), who applauded the postponement of the elections from 1981 to 1983. It then expresses serious reservations: On the one hand, the decision to participate will only be made when the situation has returned to "normal" through the liberation of "imprisoned brothers" and the reappearance of party newspapers. Second, the age of voters would have to be reduced to 18 and there would have to be changes in district lines, the election law and the role of the administration in the elections.

There is consequently a clear tendency toward participation and the echo of internal discussions, but a certain uncertainty remains. At any rate, the behavior of the USFP, which remains the main leftist group, will reveal the lessons learned by that party from the experience of 6 years of communal management and presence in Parliament (with the highly debated ups and downs that marked the period). To what extent will this affect its concepts and action, as well as its internal configuration? How will this party redefine itself, particularly in view of the evolution of the past 2 years?

As for the PPS [Party of Progress and Socialism], its participation seems assured and it has in the past months demonstrated definite interest in the elections (several editorials in its newspapers have been devoted to them), although it has expressed reservations about the failure to announce the dates of the voting (Ali Yata has sent a written inquiry to the prime minister on the subject), districting, the type of voting (the PPS is asking for overall proportional voting from a list), the role of the administration and the need for its neutrality and the financial guarantee required of every candidate (2,000 dirhams). In addition, it is asking for the creation of an atmosphere of calm

through the release of political prisoners and trade unionists arrested following the events of June 1981, a lifting of the ban on the USFP press and the return of the exiles.

Against the Petty Bourgeoisie

At the same time, this party has published the positions of its Third Congress (which was postponed a few weeks in March), which reveal an "alternative" to the current situation in order to break with liberalism and bring about the "national and democratic revolution" that will turn Morocco into "a modern, developed country" with the "conditions needed to move toward an authentic socialist society." These positions, which contain the issues that will undoubtedly be taken up during the election (and to which we shall return), enable one to see how the PPS stands compared with other groups and consequently, how it defines itself.

While they denounce "the reactionary ideology" which fights the ideas of socialism on different pretexts and wages propaganda against "the reality of socialism...on a third of the globe," these positions go into more detail on "the weight of petty bourgeois ideologies" in our country (due to the growth of the middle classes) and appeal for a response "to petty bourgeois deviations": the deviation (expressed by Istiqlal, a "national bourgeois" party which still influences part of the petty bourgeoisie) which bets on participation in the government in order to find solutions which are, if not overall, then at least individual thanks to patronage; the deviation of a leftist faction (the UNFP), criticized for its "wait-and-see" attitude and its "rejection of active political life" and the current "democratic process." As for the "progressive, petty bourgeois left" (the USFP), it is "shot through with various factions" and balances concessions (if government prospects are in sight) and an (adventurist) radicalism when these prospects are closed. Leftism is criticized because it "misleads" students "into action with no future." A faction of leftism (the OADP [Organization of People's Democratic Action], in ANOUAL), "has broken off from sterile nihilism," but "plays into the hands of the reactionaries" by waging "leftist competition" against the left and the PPS in particular. As for the Islamic factions, they allegedly reflect the "confusion in some circles of the petty bourgeoisie," but exploit it in order to pit it against socialism. However, some have thought that the source of the evil is in capitalist exploitation and "take the rationalist line." While stating that this ideological struggle must take place without sectarianism, these positions (which might seem summary to those they designate) define the limits of the PPS. Its position on the trade union level combines a harsh view of the experience of the CDT [Democratic Labor Confederation] (its creation reportedly worsened the trade union crisis, the teachers strikes in 1979 were "a serious failure," and the appeal for the 20 June strike, without organization, relied on mass spontaneity, which "can only lead to rioting"), with a criticism of the UMT [Moroccan Labor Federation] also because of its "narrow group interests," "isolation" and absence of any alternative or overall trade union strategy. Nevertheless, the PPS considers that it is necessary to preserve trade union unity (within the UMT) and guarantee trade union independence and democracy. Taking a position within the left, the PPS also aspires to become more than an "avant-garde," a "truly mass party." This will undoubtedly be the thrust of its election campaign.

What will the attitude of Abdallah Ibrahim's party be (the UNFP) toward the elections? We know that it refused to participate in the previous elections and did not spare its criticisms of the "democratic process." A revision of that position is allegedly being made. In an editorial (AL ITTIHAD AL WATANI, 24 February 1983), A. Ibrahim wrote that if the UNFP is the "conscience of a people" (which pushed it to be intransigent in recent years in the face of the "democratic process"), "it is also a political party and as such, is willing to assume all its responsibilities in the administration of the country" in order to help "save it." Ibrahim's picture of the situation is gloomy because there has been a constant repetition for 27 years: exploitation, slogans, legislatures, falsification, and so on. It denounces the "puppet parties" that crop up "like mushrooms" and "combine both old and new masks" in the "theater of the absurd." The UNFP wants to distinguish itself by its "honesty and rectitude" and wishes to combine "revolutionary clairvoyance" with a rejection of "adventurism." It is with this image that the party will undoubtedly try, through the elections, to play a new role in the political arena.

While it sets itself up as a legal organization, under the name of Organization of People's Democratic Action (OADP, filing its by-laws in January, although it still has no authorization from authorities), this leftist formation has over a decade of militancy that has cost many of its members prison terms. In an interview (ANOUAL, 17 February 1983), the leader of the organization, Mohamed Bensaid, considers that the election battle is of particular importance in the fight for democracy. As for the identity of the OADP, it can be summed up in four essential objectives: liberation of the state of dependency vis-a-vis imperialism; political and social democracy; modernization and rationalization; and Arab unity. It is through emphasis on these objectives that the OADP defines its specificity within the left.

The current political context, with elections on the immediate horizon, is therefore an opportunity for the different parties to present or reaffirm their positions. Without making any judgment of the differences in nature or degree of Historical or current "legitimacy," this view of the rhetoric also illustrates the limits of the current situation and of what is not said.

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RESULTS OF RECENT CENSUS REPORTED

Casablanca LE MATIN DU SAHARA in French 7 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] Yesterday in the council of government the minister of planning and professional training, Mr M'Hamed Douiri, reported on the recent census of population and housing.

The initial results, composed of raw data which will be analyzed later in order to extract various kinds of information from the census, indicate that the population reached 20,419,555 in 1982, compared to 15,379,259 in 1971, as shown in the following chart:

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1982</u>
Moroccan population	15,267,350	20,357,620
Foreign population	111,909	61,935
Total	15,379,259	20,419,555

The following chart gives a numerical breakdown of the population into urban and rural dwellers, as well as the change in this distribution over time.

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1982</u>
Urban population	5,409,725	8,730,399
Rural population	9,969,534	11,689,156
Total	15,379,259	20,419,555

These figures show an increase in the urban population, which accounted for 35 percent of the total population in 1971 and 42.7 percent in 1982. Similarly, the rural population significantly declined (57.3 percent in 1982, compared to 65 percent in 1971).

They also show that the population growth rate between 1971 and 1982 was 4.4 percent per year in the urban areas, 1.4 percent in the rural areas, and 2.6 percent for the population as a whole.

Population growth in the municipalities and boroughs looked like this:

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>Growth</u>
Casablanca (5 boroughs)	1,506,373	2,139,204	3.21%
Agadir	61,192	110,479	5.46%
Marrakech	332,741	439,728	2.54%
Rabat	367,620	518,616	3.14%
Sale	155,557	289,391	5.74%
Oujda	175,532	260,082	3.60%
Fes	325,327	448,823	2.94%
Meknes	248,369	319,783	2.30%

Several points need to be made about these figures.

The first is that the carrying out of the census of population and housing required the work of thousands of persons, primarily from education, the Ministry of the Interior, the FAR [Royal Armed Forces], the auxiliary forces, the police, and the gendarmes. But all the ministries contributed to the success of this national undertaking.

It was an operation that was carried out scientifically, using modern means and advanced technology such as informatics. This undertaking was necessary, because a country has to have an accurate picture of itself in order to be able to plan for its needs and outlays and project trends into the future.

The second point that should be made is that the rate of growth of the population has declined, and one must ask whether this phenomenon should be seen as an initial consequence of family planning programs.

The third point--and one which seems important to us--is the stability of the rural population. This phenomenon is due first of all to the urbanization of the countryside (the population of Khemisset, for example, has tripled) and to the benefits of decentralization, with the provincial capitals becoming real capital cities.

It should be noted, finally, that the census counted people where they actually are--that is, in their homes and at their jobs--without taking into account their place of birth; thus, Moroccan students and workers living abroad were not counted. Nevertheless, there are close to 1 million of them scattered in Europe, Africa, the Arab countries, etc.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the work that will be done over the next 6 months, the next year, and the next 2 years to extract data and conclusions from the census is not simply for the purpose of answering the question, "How many of us are there?". It is also to help us answer the question, "How are we doing?".

9516

CSO: 4519/189

TUNISIA

DEFENDING RIGHT OF LEFT TO POLITICAL LIFE

Tunis DEMOCRATIE in French No 109 Mar 83 pp 8, 9

/Text/ In January seven Tunisian intellectuals were arrested by the police under illegal conditions. After being held for one month at the DST building, they were brought before the magistrate who accused them of violating the 1959 law on associations and committed them to the Tunis civil prison.

Other persons, heckled by the police, have appeared before the magistrate as free men. They were charged with the same count. Observers consider it a regrettable case with no merit. Some lawyers have termed it "a real legal scandal."

We should point out that the seven persons indicted were released on 25 February.

In December 1981 a certain number of leftist intellectuals, professors, journalists, labor unionists and former political prisoners met to discuss the outcome of the November 1981 legislative elections, the reasons for the absence of the socialist left during these elections, and future prospects for the Tunisian left, in view of the new legal conditions under democracy in Tunisia.

These discussions did not lead to any common conclusions. Some of the participants considered at the time the possibility of a periodical which would be a vehicle for developing theories and a political platform for the left in Tunisia. A paper summarizing the principal theories of the participants was put forward for discussion as the basis for this periodical.

During discussions on this paper, the idea came up around August 1982 of abandoning the proposed periodical in favor of a legal movement that would take its place next to other legitimate or tolerated opposition groups.

Discussions on this new proposal finally led to a tentative platform and by-laws to be submitted to all persons who might be interested in attending the meeting to organize this association. Minutes of this meeting would be drawn up and the by-laws would be submitted to the minister of the interior for approval, in accordance with the prevailing law.

It is in these circumstances that, towards the end of December, three of the accused (Ridha Zouari, Omar Mestiri and Chrif Ferdjani) went to Sfax to submit the proposed platform and by-laws drafted in Tunis to fellow sympathizers in that region.

In the beginning of January, the police arrested six of the people who attended the meeting in Sfax, under the conditions described in the petition of the 100 attorneys published in the paper, ERRAI, i.e., seizure of the persons on the street, searches without a warrant, unwarranted surveillance, etc....

These are the main facts in this affair. The police investigation was to establish that one of the accused had participated as a unionist in occasional meetings of leftist unions members who wanted to discuss the general situation in the country.

The police were quick to establish a link between these various meetings, even though they were separate in time and had different objectives. If the link cannot be organic or emotional, then it is physical!

And so the political police have put in the same boat the initiators of the proposed "Socialist Grouping" and others who have done nothing more than hold unionist meetings.

A Case Without Merit

Besides the irregular circumstances of the arrest, we can point out the following from a legal standpoint:

1. The facts of the case in point in no way represent elements constituting an association. The 1959 law defines an association as the "bringing together of knowledge or activities" in a permanent manner. Now this element of permanence which is characteristic of meetings of association does not exist.

The record of the preliminary inquiry and of the arraignment fails to establish the existence of any stable structure or property or finances belonging to an association, or any distribution of responsibilities or activities other than the drafting of the articles as required by Article 3 of the 1959 law. The basis for the indictment is thus nothing more than a series of meetings in preparation for the possible establishment of an association pursuant to the provisions of the 1959 law. This accordance with the 1959 law, moreover, is specifically stipulated in the first article of the draft by-laws.

2. These private meetings which occurred in a closed place between individuals personally invited do not fall under the jurisdiction of any Tunisian law.

The 24 January 1969 law regarding the freedom of assembly only pertains to public meetings, which it states are permitted, and even adds that they do not require any formalities other than notification of the authorities concerned. Private meetings are free of all restrictions.

3. On the assumption that an actual association were found to exist, against all logic, it could only be sanctioned by Article 29 of the 1959 law (which stipulates a penalty of 1-6 months' imprisonment).

Application of Article 30 of this law, as the magistrate requires, entails the prior declaration of the non-existence or dissolution of this association by a court or by administrative means.

Since no such case was entertained by the administration or the courts, and no decision of dissolution or declaration of non-existence was handed down under the provisions of Article 10 of that law, the accused cannot be indicted for "maintaining a non-existent recognized association or reconstituting a dissolved association" and thereby incurring a penalty of 1-5 years' imprisonment.

4. Finally, we cannot conclude this legal commentary without pointing out the unconstitutional nature of the 1959 law which, instead of setting forth the conditions for exercising the freedom of association, as stipulated in Article 8 of the Constitution, and making this freedom a right, as is the case in democratic, civilized countries, makes it a mere favor granted by the minister of the interior under a discretionary power expressly conferred on him under Article 4 of the law.

A Political Case

Since neither the facts nor the law justify the legal action taken against innocent citizens, particularly in the case of unconstitutional laws, we are forced to attribute a political character to it, an idea which has broad support among Tunisian intelligentsia.

The current proceedings against the persons who initiated the "Socialist Grouping" represent a serious precedent that threatens the freedom and security of citizens and can only further undermine the credibility of the current government that claims to be a democracy.

This is the first time to our knowledge that a legal suit has been entirely fabricated without any legal basis.

Up to now, associations that have been prosecuted under the 1959 law were actual associations which, in view of the single-party system in the country, elected to bypass this unconstitutional law and act using the only illegal means available to them.

The citizens currently under indictment are not being prosecuted for violating the 1959 law but only for attempting to exercise a right pursuant to the provisions of this law.

Aside from the arbitrary nature of this legal action, recourse to the 1959 law jeopardizes in itself the few gains made in the area of freedom of association under the more open policy. This policy has enabled some political groups to exist, to have an organization and to enjoy freedom of assembly to

a certain point. This has not occurred to satisfy a nostalgia for a past that is over, but is most certainly part of the maturation process of a democratic system which alone can meet the needs for social evolution and security and peace among men.

The current case against the leftist intellectuals, like the one against the Islamic Movement and the serious and repeated attacks on the freedom of the press, are occurring in the context of a gloomy social atmosphere and are already adding to pessimism over the possibility of a turn-around in government policy.

The reactions of sympathy for the victims that the arrest of the leftist intellectuals has aroused in the most diverse circles (including professors, layers, journalists, unionists, political movements, youth and intellectuals of all callings) show how strongly Tunisians feel about democracy. This should lead those who are talking about reconciliation to put themselves more in tune with the country.

9805

CSO: 4519/179

BRIEFS

TWO NEW SECRETARIES OF STATE--Two new state secretariats were created by President Bouguiba, who appointed Agmed Bennour, former director general of national security, state secretary under the interior minister in charge of national security. The head of state also appointed Ahmed Ben Arfa, former director general for international cooperation, state secretary under the minister of foreign affairs in charge of international cooperation. /Text/
/Tunis DIALOGUE in French No 446 21 Mar 83 p 17/ 9805

TWO NEW GOVERNORATES--Two governorates, one at Ben Arous and the other at Ariana, were just set up on Wednesday, 16 March, by President Bourguiba, who then proceeded to shuffle some of the governors. For instance, Hamadi Khouini, former governor of Sousse, was appointed governor of the capital. Ahmed Ben Jemia, former governor of Gabes, was appointed governor of Ariana. Abdelkrim Azaiez was appointed governor of Ben Arous. Kantaoui Morjane, former governor of Kasserine, was appointed governor of Sousse. Sadok Marzouk was appointed the new governor of Kasserine. And, finally, Habib Charbi, former first assistant in the Bizerte governorate, was appointed governor of Gabes. In addition, President Bourguiba decided to establish a police headquarters in the district of Tunis, and appointed Ezzeddine Driss to head it. /Text/ /Tunis DIALOGUE in French No 446 21 Mar 83 p 17/ 9805

CSO: 4519/179

STATUS OF SAHARAN WAR EXAMINED

Paris LE MONDE in French 20-21 Mar 83 p 5

[Text] Despite the recent meeting between President Chadli and the King of Morocco, the Sahara war continues. The Polisario fighters want to make it known. They invited our correspondent to Algiers for an "excursion" of 500 kilometers to the western Sahara and in the southern part of Morocco.

Hafed-Boudjema.--In the middle of the Algerian desert, a few kilometers from the not yet materialized frontier of the western Sahara, the Polisario is exhibiting its captures: tanks, cannon, mortars, machine guns of all calibers. Between these rows some parachutes and an ejectable seat, used by Moroccan pilots whose aircraft has been shot down, lie beside the casings of CBU fragmentation bombs dropped by the royal air force.

The visit also includes passing in review before some of these pilots and about 100 other Moroccan prisoners, ranged in small groups, almost without guards (how would they escape?) under an already blazing sun. The journalist may "ask questions" of them if he so desires.

Often rusted, the bulk of the heavy materiel exhibited here was captured several years ago, particularly during the great offensives of 1979. Since the construction of the "wall" protecting the "useful triangle" formed by El Aioun, Smara, and Bou-Craa, such booty is no longer possible.

After the surprise attacks on several of their garrisons, the Moroccans evacuated nine-tenths of the western Sahara and entrenched themselves behind two meters of sand which, over several hundred kilometers suffice, with mines, to stop the "katibas" [combat groups] of the Polisario. The latter harasses with heavy weapons, and apparently with a certain precision, the advanced Moroccan positions, particularly when the diplomatic situation requires a war communique. Nothing in the statements of the responsible officials encountered leads one to suppose that a large scale action is near.

The accent, rather, is placed on the deleterious effects for the monarchy of a war of attrition imposed by the "Democratic Saharan Arab Republic." For

a little while General Dlimi, even though he was the architect of the strategy which has partially checked the Polisario, is said to have been credited with clairvoyance which caused him to plot against the king by taking into account the bad morale of his troops. "We need only to wait for as long as it takes for the wall to fall like a ripe fruit," says a Saharan.

"Liberated Territories"

"God, who created time, created a sufficient amount of it." This Irish proverb must have been translated into Arabic, so slow is the pace of life in the different Polisario camps set up in Algeria, in the region of Tindouf. "The liberated territories" are actually empty of civilian population, except perhaps for a few semi-nomads in the south. No inhabitant has been able to return to the towns where the Saharan flag flies. The latter are no more than heaps of ruins, bombed regularly by the Moroccan air force in order to make all normal life there impossible. So they set up on neighboring soil immense camps which constitute three wilayas (prefectures, as in Algeria) bearing the names of Smara, El Aioun, and Dakla, historic, political, and economic metropolises of the western Sahara, all in the hands of Morocco, the last on the Atlantic coast.

In each wilaya there are more than 50,000 people, the "wali" (prefect) of El Aioun assured us, without venturing on the slippery ground of the numerical importance of his people. Provided with water from wells or by means of tanker trucks, gas in bottles, these camps, exposed to the windblown sand of the desert, at first seem to have few comforts. Those who have visited them at the establishment confirm that there has been praiseworthy progress, however, The schools, child-care centers, and hospitals compare favorably with what finds in other refugee camps in Africa.

Distinct from those of the wilayas and located apart from them, sometime by several tens of kilometers, other "model institutions" are obligatory stops on the Tindouf tour. Devoted to the "permanent training" of women, the February Twenty-Seventh School (the anniversary of the "proclamation of the republic") displays impressive rows of sewing machines.

Red For the Cubans

The hospital of the martyr Bachir Salah contains 450 beds, of which 250 are occupied. Does it happen that wounded fighters are cared for here? One of the Saharan doctors "trained in the friendly countries" and officiating in the building assures us to the contrary. The slightly wounded are treated in the field and the others are evacuated "somewhere" but not to this civilian hospital. Here or elsewhere, is the Polisario aided by foreign physicians? No, says our interlocutor abruptly. Nevertheless, while we were debarking from the airplane at Tindouf we saw cases of Algerian wind being unloaded destined for a "Cuban health mission" spelled out clearly.

In 1978 Algeria warned Morocco that the exercise of the right of pursuit onto its territory would be a casus belli. The silence of the desert is often

shattered by the Algerian Migs, and there are many military convoys around Tindouf, but if Saharan doctors, teachers, and administrators declare that they "mobilized to the same degree as their brothers" of an army nevertheless without rank, each one stresses the "civilian" nature of his activities on Algerian soil. The liberation army, they assure you, is on the other side of the frontier and its members come into the region only to rejoin their wives in the camps when on leave.

A Stop In a Vegetable Garden

"We control an area of Morocco equal to what the royal army occupies in our land," say the Saharans. This is true, except that there are no phosphates in the landscape of canyons, magnificent after the dreary stretches of flat desert, located southwest of Zag. The "wall" has been extended to the east, to where the Ouarkziz mountain range stops providing a natural barrier against the attacks of the Polisario toward the Draa dry wash. A few kilometers from the advanced Moroccan positions which stand in front of the "wall" we see dozens of hulks of Moroccan tanks destroyed during a murderous ambush in 1979.

There is not a soul living in the former Moroccan strongpoint of Lebouirate, entirely destroyed, near which we set up a bivouac for the night. The same silence at Mabhes, in the western Sahara this time. But a few soldiers welcome us in what remains of the old Spanish fort. A poster on the walls of the royal gendarmerie headquarters, from the time of the Moroccan presence, has resisted all the shots. "God, country, the king" a soldier had written with chalk. In the name of the same God they engaged in a savage battle here. Perforated helmets, bazooka charges, and unexploded bombs litter the ground. Rusting away, the hulks of vehicles add to the desolation of this site, where time seems to have stopped.

Like those who preceded us in the western Sahara, sometimes as far as the Atlantic, we have driven without particular precautions and without seeing the Moroccan air force. Nor did we see Saharan combat units hidden in the terrain. They exist, of course, as the pursuit of certain actions against the "wall" testify, but the Polisario shows complete discretion on this point.

The enemy is not bent on risking an ultramodern aircraft in order to destroy a few isolated vehicles, says an official in explaining the absence of the Moroccan air force. On the other hand, he continues, it makes observation flights to locate possible human concentrations and returns to attack them later. To believe Mr. Mohamed Sidati, secretary-general in the office of the president of the republic, American satellites are used for this observation work.

The return trip includes, on Algerian territory, a stop at a vegetable garden of which the Saharans are quite proud. "Onions," "turnips," announces a gardener on a trellis in Spanish. The soldiers getting out of the Landrover fondle them lovingly. "We are a small people, forced to conduct a war which horrifies us," says our escort. Certain Saharans speak "the wooden language" and go on only in scarcely credible repeated assertions. Others cultivate romantic speech and attitudes. At this time these are the most at a loss with an observer who wants to keep to facts and figures.

DECISION ON HADDAD'S STATUS, EFFECT ON PROMINENT FIGURES ANALYZED

TA221146 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 22 Apr 83 p 17

[Commentary by Tuviya Mendelson, political correspondent: "His Future and His Status"]

[Text] Major Sa'd Haddad expressed to Defense Minister Moshe Arens, his predecessor Ari'el Sharon, and other personalities who met him recently his fears about the possibility that Israel might eventually give up on him, abandon him and also compromise on the question of "his future and his status." Haddad, who has been closely following the various stages of the Lebanese war and the negotiations, is not unjustifiably worried. He has already seen Israel climb up taller trees than himself and get off them easily and amid great fanfare. However, it seems that now there are reasonable grounds to assume that Haddad has actually nothing to fear. The more Jerusalem, Beirut, Damascus and Washington continue to say that the negotiations with Lebanon depend on a solution to the question of Major Haddad's "future and status," the more I feel that Haddad's status has never been stronger and firmer, and that the number of high-ranking personalities whose "future and status" largely depend on Haddad's "future and status" is constantly increasing.

After the Lebanese Government succeeded in proving its inability to assume control over the deteriorated internal situation of its country, after the Washington administration discovered that all the messages, cables and demands for "an immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon" (remember?) were to no avail, and after the Israeli Government methodically --albeit not inelegantly--retreated from previous objectives and goals in Lebanon, all the sides remain dependent on the question of Haddad's "future and status." In order to get out of this trap--although there are those who would not mind this situation becoming the status quo--one of the sides will have to give up. The question of Haddad's status may be solved, but it may also affect the status of others. We will try and examine the future and status of those we are referring to when we talk about Haddad:

President Ronald Reagan

It may be difficult to point to a direct link between Haddad's future and that of the U.S. President, but such a link is more than just coincidental

and indirect: Everybody in the United States is waiting for the President's plans regarding the next race for the presidency. As time goes by the President's prestige is tarnished, as he collects a series of defeats in Congress and a considerable number of personal "fiascos," in spite of his emotional and persuasive appeals in the U.S. media. The plan bearing his name did not become a hot "best-seller" in the countries of this region, whose problems it was meant to solve. He did not succeed in seducing King Husayn to join the peace talks, and the U.S. media takes pains to point out time and again that Israel systematically ignored his warnings and threats in everything pertaining to the war in Lebanon. The Americans are today less bothered by the Israeli occupation in Lebanon and worry more about the U.S. involvement in it. The administration, and Ronald Reagan first and foremost, needs an arrangement that will include the withdrawal of all the foreign forces and, as things stand today, Haddad is in the way.

President Amin al-Jumayyil

The Lebanese president assumed his post amid questions and doubts about his strength, talent and ability to establish a stable government in Lebanon that will succeed in reconstructing the army, healing the wounds and restoring independence and sovereignty to Lebanon. Amin al-Jumayyil wants to see the foreign forces, especially the Israelis, out of his country, but he needs an arrangement that will help him solidify his government as well as... his future and status. Al-Jumayyil does not need, does not want, and does not recognize Haddad, whom he regards as a traitor. He may make many concessions in the negotiations with Israel, but he is not strong enough to swallow an Israeli appointment of a senior commander of his army. The compromise that will be reached on Haddad's "future and status" will provide a clearer picture about the status of President al-Jumayyil.

President Hafiz al-Asad

The Syrian president is currently in a waiting position. As long as the question of Haddad is not solved, an arrangement in Lebanon gets postponed and he does not have to face demands for action. His lackeys have here and there made pseudo-promises that the Syrian forces would leave Lebanese soil simultaneously with the IDF's withdrawal. However, his real test will be if and when an arrangement is reached. Only then will it be possible to see whether al-Asad instructs his forces stationed in Lebanon to move back into Syrian territory. Al-Asad is probably apprehensive about another possibility: The fact that the negotiations are not advancing might tempt certain elements to try and solve the Haddad problem by means of a war--limited in its objectives and goals--against Syria which would also solve the question of the future and status of Hafiz al-Asad himself. The fears of Defense Minister Moshe Arens have been vented in Israel about the movements and intentions of the Syrian Army. It is highly likely that al-Asad is equally and with the same measure of alertness, apprehension and uncertainty following the IDF's movements and real intentions.

Special Envoy Philip Habib

Philip Habib's personal prestige now depends on finding a compromise between the sides about the...future and status of Haddad which will ensure a breakthrough in the negotiations. It is said that Habib is increasingly losing his patience, but he will not let up and will make great efforts not to lose the special reputation he has acquired as a smart, effective, reliable and brilliant mediator. Although everything now depends on a solution to the Haddad question, there are those who believe that the way Habib sees it, it is not Haddad but rather Menahem Begin who is now standing in the way.

Prime Minister Menahem Begin

Begin's status is the safest. Historical experience shows that far more important issues did not affect him. Begin can also afford to pose as a loyal and devoted ally, although the worried Haddad cannot be blamed in spite of the declarations emanating from the prime minister's office and its surroundings. Even Haddad knows that the devoted and loyal Begin has in the past succeeded in shaking loose of far more devoted and closer friends, and with a far more Polish background than that of Haddad. At the same time, Begin knows very well today that all that remains of his extravagant objectives and goals for the Lebanese war is Sa'd Haddad. Without him, Israel would not even enjoy the measure of influence it had over southern Lebanon before the Peace for Galilee war. However, if worst comes to worst, Begin will draw his secret card: The Alignment. He will take care to explain, prove and convince that the Alignment created the problem of Sa'd Haddad. And this also indicates that the future and status of Shim'on Peres depend on the solution of the Haddad question.

Of course, these are only a few of the people hovering over the question of Sa'd Haddad's future. Clearly, there are other people involved: Moshe Arens, just to mention one of them, whom everybody is waiting to see how he will succeed in influencing the political moves and put his seal on the outcome of the negotiations. His predecessor, Ari'el Sharon, whose future and status remain worrisome and vague, is not out of the picture. As may be recalled, he conferred with Haddad and heard from him about Haddad's troubles and fears. Sharon returned from the meeting determined to exercise whatever is left of his influence in order to help Haddad increase his strength and solidify his situation in southern Lebanon. Hence, the question of Haddad is not lacking in influence over the delicate, complicated and rather faulty fabric of relations within the cabinet, between Arens and Sharon and between Sharon and other ministers. Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir looks as if he is going to repeat the same mistake he made in the past: Supporting Sharon's line, perhaps by (wrongly) assuming that Begin also favors it.

On second thought, when the cases of so many people depend on him, who can blame Haddad for being so upset and worried? Communications Minister Mordekhay Tzipori, who all through the war adopted independence positions and expressed different views from those of his colleagues--most of which materialized--was the only one in this week's cabinet session who expressed a different opinion and called for concentrating on security arrangements in

southern Lebanon, rather than anguishing over Israel's moral commitment toward Haddad. Haddad is closely following these developments. Although Tzipori's remarks were rejected out of hand, other notions which have in the near past been "rejected out of hand" appeared as "a softening in the Israeli position" a few hours later. When Menahem Begin deems it proper, he will succeed in showing how elastic and flexible a moral commitment can also be. In the case of Menahem Begin, who has vast experience in popping up the names of candidates to senior and high-ranking positions, it would not be all that illogical if, within his sincere concern over his future and status, he proposed the vacant post of ambassador in Paris to Haddad. After all, during his term in power Israel has not had more than a good fence with most of the European countries.

CSO: 4400/301

DAVID LEVI INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL ISSUES

TA202007 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1935 GMT 20 Apr 83

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister David Levi on Moqed program by anchorman Ya'akov Ahime'ir, political correspondent Yoram Ronen and correspondent for settlement affairs Rami Gubernik--live in the studio]

[Text] [Ahime'ir] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. This week the issue of settlement in Judaea and Samaria was in the headlines again. Yesterday the Ministerial Committee for Settlement Affairs approved the establishment of three new settlements in Samaria; the day before yesterday, Independence Day, the foothold of Berakha near Nabulus was converted into a civilian settlement and this is causing a dispute and even great demonstrations. Yesterday a dispute was revealed in the Ministerial Committee for Settlement Affairs on the issue of the responsibility for the implementation of the settlement plan. And Deputy Prime Minister David Levi was at the focus of all these events this week and we will ask him this evening mainly about the settlement actions. Here with me in the interviewers' team this evening are our political correspondent Yoram Ronen and our correspondent on settlement affairs, Rami Gubernik. Mr Minister, good evening.

[Levi] Good evening.

[Ahime'ir] The day before yesterday, Independence Day, as I said, the foothold Berakha was made civilian; it became Upper Nabulus. Why was the cabinet so insistent on holding the ceremony of making it civilian specifically on Independence Day? The criticism has been heard that this act did not actually fit in with the unifying spirit of Independence Day.

[Levi] I would not describe it as insistence. That is as though the cabinet were to sit with another side in negotiations and insist on something. The cabinet made a decision to make the settlement civilian and it implemented it. The question of why on Independence Day; well, it is true that the argument that is our daily fare these days also terms settlement an obstacle, but we forget that settlement has always been the miracle of our renaissance in Eretz Yisra'el. There are those who disagree with certain settlement and there are those who support settlement in Judaea and Samaria and it is they who are in the government today. One could think that turning Berakha into a civilian settlement was the only event on Independence

Day; I would not say it was the main one, we must stress proportion, but the cabinet made a decision. The settlement was made civilian and I am happy that it was made as it was made; because of the circumstances, I had to make a decision: whether in such a situation, in which thousands are in favor, thousands are opposed, everyone went to the place, whether the risk of a clash should be taken. As you know, I do everything I can to prevent clashes, so that there should be no violence. Everyone is entitled to express his views. Man lives with his beliefs. Demonstrations are a part of what I would call the breath of life of democratic society. Everyone went there. The ceremony was held--modestly, it is true. I refrained from making a speech. Then, if refraining from making a speech prevented the risk of a clash, I think that the price was worth it.

[Ronen] Mr Levi, even inside the cabinet reservations were heard about holding the ceremony on Independence Day; those expressing reservations at the cabinet session were Ministers Burg, Pat and Tzipori; Deputy Prime Minister Simha Ehrlich claimed that making the settlement civilian had not been brought to the Ministerial Committee for Settlement Affairs at all, not to mention the remarks by MK Ehud Olmert, who said that there was nothing more than trumpets and drums there. How do you accept this criticism from the Likud faction?

[Levi] I like drums and trumpets, they are fine things for Independence Day. The settlement exists. There was the modest ceremony of making it civilian that I mentioned. The nucleus has moved in to settle, in accordance with the cabinet decision. I ask where those were who have reservations now. At first, most of them supported the decision and it was made unanimously. Was it possible to oppose the decision before the approval? Was it impossible to support making the settlement civilian? It was known for 2 weeks previously from announcements published. I met those members of the cabinet session and for two cabinet sessions after the decision. Not one of them had reservations and not one of them said a word.

[Gubernik] They say that you said there were preparations to make Berakha a civilian settlement, but the very fact of the doing so was not brought up for approval?

[Levi] I do not remember that how to make a settlement civilian is something that is brought to a ministerial committee. The decision was made, unanimously, I repeat this again, at a session attended by most of the cabinet members. Not one of them had reservations.

[Ronen] The Ministerial Committee for Security Affairs?

[Levi] The Ministerial Committee for Security Affairs sitting as the cabinet. I carried out the cabinet's decision. If anybody had had reservations, he could have made them at the cabinet session before the decision was made, when it was publicized. I also want to recall that from the information center, too, within the framework of the Independence Day events, it was noted and publicized that there would be civilianization with the attendance of the defense minister and a deputy prime minister.

[Ronen] So, was the ministerial opposition just for the sake of making trouble, was it not [interrupted]

[Levi] I would prefer not to judge my colleagues. I decided what was in fact approved as a decision upon which nobody expressed reservations, nobody complained, nobody opposed, nobody commented afterward at the cabinet sessions by making any comment whatsoever about the civilianization.

[Gubernik] In your opinion, Mr Minister, the committee, the Ministerial Committee for Settlement Affairs, is it in fact a superfluous committee, such things could be decided [interrupted]

[Levi] No, heaven forbid [interrupted]

[Gubernik--continuing] Could be decided by a Ministerial Committee for Security Affairs instead of a Committee for Settlement Affairs?

[Levi] It is a fact that it was the Ministerial Committee for Security Affairs that unanimously made the decision, at its meeting as a cabinet session.

[Ronen] Why not the Ministerial Committee for Settlement Affairs?

[Levi] The proof of that is, I brought to the Ministerial Committee for Settlement Affairs the establishment of six new settlements in Judaea and Samaria and those settlements were accepted as I suggested. There were no reservations about those settlements. There was no opposition. It was approved unanimously.

[Gubernik] Sir, the actual ceremony itself, the civilianization ceremony, I was at the ceremony and you reached the area, the area of the ceremony, you saw the many people gathered there, including among them the opponents, and after that you were taken to the actual civilianization ceremony which was held almost in secret and this certainly did not give great honor to the ceremony, to the settlers, perhaps to the cabinet. How could you accept such secrecy?

[Levi] What do you mean honor? It is honor to appear and make a speech, so the honor is complete. The civilianization was made, the ceremony, with the participation of the army, and after that, the civilianization. The settlement was accepted. The Ministry of Housing and Construction gave the apartments to the settlers. Everything was done. Whether modest or bombastic [last word in English], I opted for modest.

[Ahime'ir] Did you fear the thousands of Peace Now Movement demonstrators who were there?

[Levi] There was no question of fear. We must always avoid something that has the risk of a clash. I will continue to behave thus.

[Gubernik] The IDF spokesman announced that there was no such risk and that, for his part, the ceremony could be held as it was planned, outside [interrupted]

[Levi] Somewhere or other a minister who goes there also has his considerations. I acted on my considerations. I do not regret this.

[Ahime'ir] Mr Minister, let us move on from the ceremonies to the act itself, the act of settlement in Judaea and Samaria. Yesterday you submitted a plan to the Ministerial Committee for Settlement Affairs and according to that plan most of the effort will be focused east of the place where the water is split [not further specified] in the region of the hilltop, eastward of the Janin-Nabulus-Ramallah to Hebron line. Is the trend of the government's settlement policy to establish urban settlements in the heart of or abutting a densely populated Arab region?

[Levi] First of all, the approach is that we must strengthen the hilltop, in depth, and there we are providing most of the incentives, and I would say the push, the intensive push for direct construction by the Ministry of Construction and Housing. As for the center of Samaria, we are focusing what we are doing also through companies, as they build in Tel Aviv, Galilee and in the Negev.

[Ahime'ir] I asked about settlement near a very densely populated Arab region. Is this the government's policy, Sir?

[Levi] The government's decisions are the government's policy and when a settlement is decided upon as it is decided upon, there are considerations that guide the government regarding the site.

[Ahime'ir] Another question. In the past, you have expressed enthusiastic support for expanding Jewish settlement inside the town of Hebron. Are you in favor of the spirit of that concept, for instance, the establishment of a Jewish colony inside Nabulus?

[Levi] I am not in favor of the establishment of a Jewish colony inside Nabulus, but near Nabulus, and Berakha is near Nabulus, just as Elon More is near Nabulus, just as Qiryat Arba' is near Hebron, just as 'Ofra and Bet El are near Ramallah and Pesagot is near Ramallah and there is no contradiction in this. I am devoting many efforts to building on a wide scale, with thousands of housing units, not only housing units, also new towns, as well as the community settlements and the rural settlements. It is not only apartments, it is also public institutions, everything needed for community life.

[Ahime'ir] For a moment I would like to return to Hebron, Mr Minister. Is your trend toward expanding the Jewish colony inside Hebron town? I do not, for the moment, mean Qiryat Arba'.

[Levi] If we are discussing the Jewish quarter, my answer is yes.

[Ahime'ir] Why?

[Levi] Because Jews lived in those places, they were uprooted from there, this has not only historical significance, but Jewish significance, this is the town of our forefathers and there was a Jewish quarter there which we want to rehabilitate. We have done some of the work. I hope that we will accelerate the pace there and that the quarter will be revived and be to our glory.

[Gubernik] I understand that centers, densely populated Arab centers, will not prevent the establishment of Jewish settlements.

[Levi] I do not say inside, only in Hebron, which has a special significance; beside it. One beside the other. If you ask me what my views are about autonomy, I say again: This is the prevention of the establishment of a Palestinian state and to get used to living one beside the other.

[Ronen] Mr Levi, you spoke about thousands of housing units that are being established in Judaea and Samaria, about new towns, new settlements. We know, over the last 2 years in particular, of most accelerated settlement effort, paving arterial highways, new settlements. What, in fact, is the political goal of this settlement in Judaea and Samaria? Is there no de facto annexation?

[Levi] There is no annexation, but there is tangible action for common life, one beside the other. We are not expelling anybody, we do not expropriate private land, we are settling on state land and we intend--and I repeat it to those who are opposed too, and also to those who are watching what is happening in Judaea and Samaria from far away: We must not speak concerning those who are proposing that this settlement should be in a minor [last word in English] way, nobody must be misled--we intend to continue to live in Judaea and Samaria.

[Ronen] Do you not think that in this way there is, perhaps, a provocation, perhaps appearing deliberate, of the Arab population that is living there?

[Levi] There is no provocation, because we are not expropriating, not cutting anyone off from his land, not driving anyone away from his plot. We did not commit ourselves in any way whatsoever or in any agreement whatsoever not to settle in Judaea and Samaria. This has become secondary [as heard]. We must recall it. We accepted the autonomy concept when it was not only our intention to continue to build Jewish settlements in Judaea and Samaria, but, and we said this and we repeat and we must say it unequivocally: Autonomy is not a Palestinian state and we do not intend to only continue to be in and hold on to military footholds and army camps in Judaea and Samaria.

[Gubernik] At this speed, it seems to me that it will already be impossible, ever, to give back even parts of Judaea and Samaria.

[Levi] I promise that the speed will increase and I do not see any contradiction. To those who think that this will hold up an arrangement, I want to say: If an arrangement means the establishment of a Palestinian state or the uprooting of Jewish settlements in Judaea and Samaria, there will be no such arrangement, because Israel will not be a partner to it.

[Ahime'ir] Mr Minister, I wanted to ask you: Let us assume that a government is established in Israel, an Alignment government, which, as is known believes in territorial compromise. According to your realistic evaluation as one who is building and establishing settlements now in Judaea and Samaria, would such a government, following the accelerated settlement speed, be able to think about territorial compromise? Is this project to block the idea of territorial compromise?

[Levi] I hope that a government that would move toward territorial compromise in Judaea and Samaria will not be established. In any event, we are implementing our path; it is in its name that we went out to the voter and when we reached power, we have been implementing it as it should be. I also hear those who boast of making up a government in the future, they say that they will not uproot Jewish settlements from Judaea and Samaria. So I am helping them not to uproot these settlements from deep and strong foundations from the ground of the homeland.

[Gubernik] Mr Minister, let us go back to the plan submitted to the Ministerial Committee on Settlement Affairs yesterday. According to the plan only two settlements will be set up in the Galilee, two settlements in the Negev and Na'arava regions, in comparison with six settlements in Judaea and Samaria. When one talks so much about the need to populate the Galilee, about a negative Jewish emigration balance from the Galilee--is this the government's order of priorities?

[Levi] You have forgotten another two settlements in the Gush Qatif bloc and two settlements in the Jordan Valley area and settlements in the Golan. Out of 16 settlements, 6 will be set up in Judaea and Samaria; namely, 10 will be set up in regions that are not in dispute. Settlement in Judaea and Samaria is not done at the expense of settlement in the rest of Eretz Yisra'el. Therefore, when you talk about negative emigration, I would like to remind you that the Housing and Construction Ministry last year concluded the establishment of six new settlements [in the Galilee]. This year we will establish another two settlements. Thousands of housing units have been set up in the Galilee. Also, new neighborhoods with public institutions and everything else involved in them have been built in the Galilee.

[Ronen--interrupts] This is still incomparable to the dimensions of building in Judaea and Samaria.

[Levi] It is the same dimensions. If 10 of 16 settlements is a majority, the building [outside Judaea and Samaria] is larger.

[Ronen--interrupts] I am here talking about the Galilee, the Galilee as compared to Judaea and Samaria.

[Levi] Let me repeat, thousands of housing units have been set up in the Galilee. There is always the issue of a genesis, a beginning. When we started with development towns we also gave priority to the development towns. Similarly, when we talk about Judaea and Samaria, I am here saying that priority is given to settlements in the depths of this region, along the same lines as we applied to the development towns at their beginning, when we needed to strengthen them. By the way, the aid extended to the development towns is similar to that given to settlements in the depth of Judaea and Samaria.

[Ahime'ir] Mr Minister, nowadays there is a great deal of talk about national projects, especially about the Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal, and there is a dispute between the Finance and Energy Ministries as to who should finance this project. In addition, we have the Lavi aircraft project which is very costly. The plan for settling Judaea and Samaria is supposed to cost, according to authoritative estimate, about \$1.5 billion or about 60 million shekels. Does the State of Israel have so much money?

[Levi] If you start making these calculations, you would also ask how much each plane, each tank, the social system, the renewal project, the development of industry cost, how much the national carrier cost in the past, how much the aid to settlements distant from the center of the country amounted to, and so on and so forth.

[Ahime'ir] Everything, together, though?

[Levi] This may be the uniqueness of Israel, to do everything at the same time: aid to needy regions; development of industry; the maintenance of a social system which is our glory, which, I think, is one of the most advanced in the world; the Lavi project is an absolutely necessary one--this project cannot be done all at once but we have a plan. This is exactly similar to what we undertook at the time, and I am referring to the famous embargo [reference unclear], when there was talk of recession and setback in areas that we all viewed as holy cows, but we still made a most serious investment in the Israeli Aircraft Industries despite talk of waste. So, we are coping with all problems together at any given time and under any circumstances.

[Ronen] Still, Mr Levi, as the late Moshe Dayan said at the time, one cannot raise all banners at the very same time and an order of priorities should be established. Do you not think that such a huge project as is being implemented in Judaea and Samaria does not come to a certain extent at the expense of social needs?

[Levi] It does not. Let me make a comparison here. There was an era when there was no settlement momentum in Judaea and Samaria. Were the social problems solved then? I would like to pose this question to whoever tries to be provocative on purely political grounds. I need not continue to put up

with this contention that activity in Judaea and Samaria is at the expense of elsewhere. Activity is taking place in every part of Eretz Yisra'el. It is true that activity in Judaea and Samaria, from the government's point of view, is an issue of first-rate priority.

[Ahime'ir] Your remarks indicate, if we can use political, popular language, a very hawkish approach toward settlement in Judaea and Samaria. In this remarks you now emerge as the major cabinet personality that builds Judaea and Samaria. Yesterday you even demanded to have more powers than what you have, perhaps at the expense of the Agriculture Ministry, perhaps at the expense of the Zionist Organization. The question arising is whether on this issue of settlement in Judaea and Samaria we here witness a covert intention to take the place of Ari'el Sharon who was the major settling element of Judaea and Samaria until he ceased to be the agriculture minister?

[Levi] God forbid, I do not have such calculations and I need not here stand and swear so that everyone believes me. It is activity which is the important point, and activity in Judaea and Samaria has not just started today. Upon entering my position, about 4 years ago, I believed that a momentum should be given to building in Judaea and Samaria in terms of towns with all the attendant implications, and this is how I have acted. Everything you today encounter in Judaea and Samaria is not something which evolved yesterday, during the meeting of the Ministerial Committee on Settlement Affairs, whether this is Efrat or 'Immanu'el or Ma'ale Adummim or other large settlements such as Alfe Menashe, Qarne Shomron, Giv'at Ze'ev, not to mention thousands of housing units which are already established with all the development involved. As far as Judaea and Samaria are concerned, my views were not born today. It is true that in my statements I usually sound different from those who define themselves as hawks, since, so I believe, when I am in government I should not foster criticism [niguah]. However, I know the road and the target and I am implementing things accordingly. As for the Ministerial Committee on Settlement Affairs, I brought a proposal to it which was concluded with the head of the committee who is the agriculture minister. This proposal simply talks of effective use of the resources and tools at our disposal under the umbrella of the actual executive branch which is the Housing and Construction Ministry, as well as of a thorough check of every settlement that is going to be established. The Housing and Construction Ministry with the tools at its disposal will thus be able to examine every initiative of settlement or building, who stands behind it, whether the person involved is experienced and reliable, for example.

[Ahime'ir--interrupts] You are in fact demanding the right of veto.

[Levi] Not a veto but a check. After all we are talking of settlers and we should take care of their rights. We should take care that a private entrepreneur will maintain [interrupted]

[Ahime'ir] Was this not done so far?

[Levi] I would like this issue to be concentrated in the hands of a single authority and that it be coordinated with all elements concerned. I am not depriving anybody of powers, neither the Zionist Organization's Settlement Department, nor the Agriculture Ministry, but stronger coordination is necessary. There should not be running about between one element and another.

[Gubernik] The Agriculture Ministry and the Zionist Organization view your attempt as an attempt to take over their tasks.

[Levi] I have not heard this. I heard there is some reservation and this was heard yesterday. However, proof of what I am saying is that the head of the committee, the agriculture minister, did not show any opposition; on the contrary, it was he who formulated the decision [to concentrate matters in the hands of the Housing and Construction Ministry]. I hope that in the meetings we will have in the coming days we will conclude all matters with a good spirit. I have no intention of depriving anybody of power. The more people active in this sphere the better, however this should be done with maximum coordination and with a professional check which only the Housing and Construction Ministry--and this is not disputed--can do with the tools and means it has. It is only this ministry which can check and ensure the conditions of settlement and the entire texture. By texture I mean that a settlement will include all the necessary institutions, the schools, kindergartens and anything else necessary for an urban settlement.

[Ronen] You are different from the hawks in the government, Mr Levi, by the fact that you have claimed for long now that a better dialogue and stronger coordination should be reached with the United States. In view of the freeze on the F-16's, do you not fear that due to the intensive settlement in Judaea and Samaria the United States may adopt additional similar measures against us such as a cut in aid?

[Levi] There is an argument with the United States. First, on the point that I am different from others, I do not think so. There is a government's policy and all of us support it, in fact we [words indistinct] government. As for our relations with the United States: I am not concealing here that there are differences of opinion in various spheres. However, one must not concentrate on differences only and forget about or ignore the extensive, various spheres common to both countries.

[Ronen] The disagreements in the sphere of settlement are strong.

[Levi] We know that the U.S. administration is opposed to settlements, but this does not mean that we are here acting only according to this consideration that this may anger the Americans. We know this angers them but this is under our authority. It is the government that decides these matters. We are not waiting for an approval by the U.S. administration. There is a government in Israel and it is it, only it, which has the power to decide and implement.

[Ahime'ir] Mr Minister, I am still trying to understand the style you have adopted on the settlement issue. Some say that you have lost some of your support in the Herut Movement due to the dovish positions you presented in the cabinet on the Lebanese war. I would like to ask you the following: Do you now desire, in view of the upcoming Herut Movement's convention, to create for yourself a more hawkish image, to correct what was detracted from your power due to the Lebanese war and the positions you adopted during it?

[Levi] I did not have dovish positions and I am not a dove. However, if a hawk means to quarrel with everybody and criticize everyone, then I am not doing this. My world outlook is that of the Herut Movement's. I am implementing it in practice, in the sphere of social and political issues. As for those who claim what you said, it is not difficult to guess who they are. I think they are a minority. These views do not reflect the majority's views in the Herut Movement. There are meetings and the label of camps is given to them. I do not belong to a camp in the Herut Movement. The Herut Movement is my camp. In these meetings you also always have arguments of ideological discussions. What ideology is mentioned? There is an ideology indeed. This ideology is the Herut Movement's. It is my ideology, I identify myself with it, it is my world outlook and I implement it. After each such meeting you also have reports and publications about camps, about alliances between personages or camps, and so on and so forth. I normally do not react to this. Those I know about also talk in others' names while the others deny their quoted remarks. Therefore, I do not deal with such things. If anybody has a new ideology, let him come up with it please.

[Ronen] When will such an ideology be presented? In the Herut Movement's convention? Will the convention take place in June as demanded today by heads of Herut Movement's branches in a meeting with the prime minister?

[Levi] The Herut Movement's convention is generally an arena for all sorts of issues, organizational, legislative and others. I cannot recall we had ideological arguments in the past and I do not believe we will have such now. If movement members are divided in their opinion about the ideology let them present their opinion; the Herut Movement is after all a democratic movement where everyone can express his opinion and the majority decides things. I think that here we are dealing with a minority which is trying to say one thing or another about me.

I had personal experience with what was said about me at a certain period. When such a thing occurs, there is only one way open to you, to ignore and continue the activity to prove yourself, and I am acting, as much and best as I can. I think I have a record [last word in English] in activity and this is the source of my pride, this is all I have. As for ideology, I think that those who talk about ideology are really preoccupied with fighting over succession, and this is not my field of play.

[Ahime'ir] It seems to me that a senior member of the Herut Movement like you confirms that there is a war over succession [for Begin] and the press reports are correct.

[Levi] Look, I think that this entire issue of succession, and I am here repeating myself, is a disgrace for a democratic movement which has institutions and which has a prime minister who functions and who is acceptable to everyone. However, I do not play with, nor cooperate in this game of succession.

[Ahime'ir] Thank you Deputy Prime Minister.

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HARIF COMMENTS ON CONTACTS WITH HABIB, LEBANON

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[Commentary by Yosef Harif: "'When Will the Cabinet Sit'--Philip Habib Asked; 'There Is Nothing To Discuss'--Replied Yitzhaq Shamir"]

[Text] "When will the cabinet convene?" U.S. envoy Philip Habib asked Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir at their last meeting on Wednesday, prior to his departure for Beirut.

"There is still nothing to discuss," the foreign minister replied. "When there is something that can be called a complete 'package,' the cabinet will discuss it.... Right now I have nothing to bring before the cabinet..."

What was discussed was, of course, the "package deal" involving an agreement between the governments of Israel and Lebanon on an arrangement that will allow the IDF to withdraw from Lebanon. So why was Habib so curious to find out "when the cabinet will meet"? Because he believes Lebanon "has reached the end of concessions," as he expressed himself at a meeting with Minister Shamir. Which is to say that Habib has quite a substantial say in determining the Lebanese moves, and he estimates that it will not be able to make any further concessions for fear that any additional "concession" to Israel would make the "package" unacceptable to Syria. Habib therefore puts the burden on the Israeli cabinet discussion. He apparently believes that Israel is running out of time and that some ministers will encourage the Israeli steering committee to make do with the Lebanese "concessions." The proof of his contention is the fact that some ministers have already expressed their view that Israel should take only its own interests into account, not necessarily those of Major Haddad. That is what Minister Mordekhay Tzipori intimated last week. Therefore there may be a chance that following government pressure, the Israeli negotiators would soften up and accept what Habib is suggesting, on behalf of the Lebanese, as an arrangement.

At any rate, Habib left for Beirut and unlike last time, he did not this time say he was going in order to influence President al-Jumayyil to make a compromise on the matter of Haddad's status. It is a fact that last week Habib pressured al-Jumayyil, leading to the agreement by the Lebanese

president to grant Haddad the status of the deputy commander of the Southern Lebanese Territorial Brigade. Israel insists that Haddad be the commander, the full commander, not the "deputy."

This is the critical point which the negotiations over an arrangement in Lebanon have reached. And it is not the only disputed point. There are other, substantial matters that have not yet been resolved, but everyone seems to agree that while agreement [haskama] can be found on all the other questions, possibly with the help of a deliberate attempt at an ambiguous and equivocal formulation, on the question of Haddad it is impossible to find refuge behind textual acrobatics. On this issue the decision must be clear and aboveboard: Either Major Haddad is the commander, or he is not. This is what the whole argument is currently about.

Habib wanted to create the impression that Lebanon has reached the end of its concessions. (At first it demanded [darsha] the absolute removal of Haddad from the army in the south, and then it suggested integrating his units within the Lebanese Army "so as not to leave Haddad's forces" their special status. Later the Lebanese authorities agreed not to expel him altogether, but to appoint him "liaison officer," and finally, following pressure from Habib, they agreed to appoint him the deputy commander of the brigade that will be entrusted with security affairs in southern Lebanon.)

Israel still insists that Haddad's status should not be harmed and that he and his forces, in their present setup, must be responsible for the 45 to 50 km security zone.

The question, of course, is who will make the "ultimate compromise"--that is, if indeed the existence of an Israeli-Lebanese arrangement that will lead to the removal of IDF forces from Lebanon, and subsequently to the evacuation of the remaining foreign forces from that country, depends on Haddad's status.

Many months ago the prime minister was adamant. At the outset of the dispute over Haddad's status, Begin told Habib in a manner that could not be misunderstood: "We are not in the habit of forsaking our friends.... Such things have happened more than once, and certainly once too often, in our history... Haddad is a patriot... We will not turn our backs on him. Mr Ambassador, you must remember that the United States is thousands of miles away from Lebanon, while it is on our very border."

What sounded a jarring note to Begin was the term "amnesty" whenever referring to Haddad: "Even [word indistinct] would be humiliating...his government should promote him!"

Last Friday, Begin again told Habib that Israel will not give in on Haddad. The U.S. ambassador went to Beirut with the prime minister's remarks ringing fresh in his ears, and returned with the last compromise. Now the cabinet appears to be facing the choice of having Haddad stay put as the commander of the Southern Lebanese Brigade, but in order to allow Lebanon to "save face" a super-commander would be appointed on behalf of the

Lebanese Government so that in effect Haddad would really command his forces, and in the future they would become part of the Lebanese Army, whereas in theory he would be the deputy of the commander appointed over him. This is actually the proposal on which Habib is expecting an Israeli cabinet resolution, assuming that if this is resolved, the rest will follow "within a week or two."

Will Israel accept this?

The impression is that the cabinet will get in contact with Major Haddad in order to reach an understanding with him on his status in the spirit of the above-mentioned proposal. This impression was created following evaluations that what is at stake is not only "Haddad the man," but also Haddad "as a security system." The man Haddad has shown that he has the authority in the south, that he is acceptable to the southern inhabitants, and that from the practical point of view he can be indisputably relied upon. Hence, if a way is found to keep "the Haddad system" as it is, even if his personal title is given up, it would seem as though Israel would not be able to shirk the proposal whose acceptance or rejection would determine the question of whether or not there will be an arrangement between Israel and Lebanon.

Habib's main argument on this question, as on others pertaining to the Lebanese problem, is that the "Lebanese say" they cannot accept the Israeli demands [derishot] because they are unacceptable to...Saudi Arabia and Syria.

Begin's reaction was: Perhaps you could tell us, Mr Ambassador, whom we are negotiating with? If it is impossible to reach an agreement [heskem] with Lebanon, what is the point of all these negotiations?

Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir used a similar argument: You always insist, he told Habib, that it is important to restore sovereignty to Lebanon, and we naturally agree with you on this. Let the Lebanese, then, show their independence and prove that they are indeed worthy of it... If they are so sensitive to their independence, why must they take Syria's and Saudi Arabia's position into account on every matter?

Obviously the foreign minister's questions and the prime minister's statements make a lot of sense, but there is no other choice but to face the true reality in Lebanon, and it is complex, complicated and cannot be ignored. Israel has indeed taken this reality into account, which is why it gave up the "early-warning stations" as well as a whole long list of demands [derishot] included in the original plan drawn up on 11 October 1982, which was adopted by the cabinet.

However, although he wants so desperately to bring about a Lebanese-Israeli agreement, Philip Habib has not yet despaired of the hope of wearing Israel down "a little bit more," with the objective of limiting to the maximum its token presence in Lebanon and the political implication and significance of the agreement over which the negotiations are currently being conducted.

It looks as though if the Lebanese were convinced that Habib is determined to make do with the minimum Israeli demands [derishot], which Shamir described as the minimum of the minimum, then it would be possible to see the deed as done. But when the Lebanese believe that the United States, too, believes Israel is asking for "too much," then it is no wonder they renege even on things they had accepted in contacts held a week or two ago.

Every week we hear, even from high-ranking authoritative Israeli spokesmen such as the defense minister, that "progress" has been made in the talks with the Lebanese. Judging by the degree of progress that could be discerned weeks and months ago, the negotiations should have ended in success long ago. And yet there is no sign of it.

Where did the negotiations get bogged down?

It is clear already at this stage that not everything that will be agreed upon between Lebanon and Israel--with U.S. guarantees--will be absolutely overt or open. Apparently there will be a "confidential paper" where the agreements will be summed up, or the interpretations for the things mentioned in the open document will be provided, knowing that what will be included in the open document will not at all satisfy Israel totally.

Generally speaking, the Lebanese phrase "leave it to us," has recently become prevalent. And it goes to say: Do not pressure us to say everything explicitly. You should have enough confidence in us and know that in effect the things we will agree upon will apply, although they may not be mentioned in a document.

Thus, for instance, the Lebanese want Israel to "depend on them" on the question of the joint supervision teams (the joint patrols) and on the question of lifting the boycott or the transfer of merchandise and the like.

Well, with all due respect to the "independent" Lebanese, Israel cannot put too much faith in them, and what is not achieved in the open cannot be thought of as being concluded.

So what remains to be resolved apart from the big issue of Major Haddad's status?

On the security question there is, of course, the need to complete the debate on the Haddad issue, but this will not eliminate the issue of the security arrangements in the 45 to 50 km strip.

First, the Lebanese have not yet agreed on the size of the security zone. Nor has the debate on the joint patrols ended. Thus, for example, the question cropped up on the meaning of a "joint patrol" or a "supervisory team," as the Lebanese insist on calling them. Will the Israeli team members allowed inside Lebanon make a few rounds and return? Israel talked about an "overnight stay." That is to say, to let the Israeli units remain there through the night, too, seeing that there is fear that hostile

elements would prefer to be active precisely during the night to carry out their terrorist acts.

Since "an overnight stay" could be interpreted as an Israeli presence, the Lebanese objected to it, citing the well-known argument that "the Syrians would oppose this, which is why they would consequently not leave Lebanon." The compromise will probably be not an overnight stay, but "night patrols." The fact remains, nonetheless, that the issue still requires some working out and a final agreement [haskama].

Another question has to do with the presence of UNIFIL in the south. Philip Habib has not yet given up this demand of his. Israel opposes this strongly. Bitter experience has taught us that the terrorists managed to organize and build up a strong infrastructure in southern Lebanon under UNIFIL's nose, if not with the active encouragement of some of its personnel.

Lebanon maintains that if UNIFIL is not left where it is stationed, the PLO will refuse to leave Lebanon. It wants UNIFIL units to be stationed near the Ar-Rashidiyah and 'Ayn al-Hulwah refugee camps. Israel, on the other hand, insists that UNIFIL not be allowed to deploy anywhere in southern Lebanon. It has no objection, however, to allowing UNIFIL to deploy outside the 45-50 km security strip. On this, too, no agreement [haskama] has yet been achieved.

The argument still goes on over a question that is political in nature: the Arab boycott. Israel demands [tova'at] a clear-cut declaration in the form of legislation stipulating that the boycott is lifted, as befits two countries that are no longer engaged in a state of war. The Lebanese object to this, and Habib is inclined to "understand" them.

The Lebanese contend that if it is written that the state of war no longer exists, and if on the other hand it is agreed to allow "the transfer of goods" between the two countries, this automatically revokes the boycott, so why does this have to be stipulated explicitly, especially in the form of a law?

Israel maintains that this would determine whether Lebanon agrees to allow goods and people to cross and abolish the state of war (and there is still a dispute on how to formulate this statement), so why avoid stating in the open that it is shunning the boycott?

Yet it is not over these arguments, as we said before, that the match would not come about. The fact that the effort to reach agreed-upon formulations is continuing behind the scenes is evidence enough to show that an understanding will be reached on all the questions termed "political." The problem is how to make sure that the 45 to 50 km security zone is really safe. This is the question. Philip Habib believes that the security arrangements that have so far been discussed "are sufficient." Israel is not prepared to make do with them alone.

Why?

First of all because the presence of "Haddad's units" is nothing but one rung--albeit an important one--on this whole ladder. In the absence of an Israeli overseeing eye with a close look on what is happening in the security zone, this zone will not be worthy of its name. The well-worn Lebanese argument that the Lebanese Government cannot accept any arrangement that infringes on Lebanese sovereignty and that would not be acceptable to the Syrians is no argument at all. As for the principle of sovereignty, Israel no longer wants a permanent presence, only temporary arrangements. This spells no infringement on a country's sovereignty if it is prepared to reach an agreement, through understanding, with its neighbor, for a limited period of time. And as for the Syrians, if they want to find some excuse to justify their continued stay, they will meet no difficulty in doing this. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko said a few days ago that all the foreign forces must leave Lebanon. The Soviets explained that by "all" they also meant the multinational force, and the Americans first of all. Thus the Syrians have a "convincing pretext" to postpone their departure. Why, then, is Habib demanding [tove'a] that Israel, of all elements, give up its vital security arrangements in order to appease the Syrians?

One must say to Israel's credit that it acted wisely and showed a degree of flexibility when it gave up some of its demands [derishoteha] both in the political sphere and in the military sphere. Now it has reached the point where it can no longer give in without harming the foundations of its security and without actually casting doubt on the very feasibility and worthiness of the precious Peace for Galilee operation. What is taking place in Lebanon these days, while Israel is paying the bloody price, is a poignant reminder of what could happen if Israel should give up effective security arrangements. If the impression that Israel is running out of time is true, Israel would forfeit the achievements it scored in Lebanon for the sake of the security of its northern settlements.

To the extent that Habib's moves reflect a consolidated U.S. position, it is repeating a fundamental error it committed throughout its negotiations with Jordan over that country's joining the political process. Washington conceived the plan bearing the President's name in order to satisfy first of all, naturally, Jordan, and then the PLO and then Saudi Arabia and "the entire Arab world." It was made clear to the United States very quickly that it did not satisfy Jordan or Saudi Arabia because in actual fact it handed itself over to the PLO leadership, which is afraid of "radical elements," as Reagan himself said. In other words, in the hide-and-seek game played in the American style in order to obtain agreement for the Reagan plan, the United States must also compensate...Abu Nidal, unless it wants this murderer to threaten the radical elements who in turn will threaten 'Arafat, who in turn will threaten Jordan--and then you are left with no "peace plan."

What does all this refer to?

The United States is aiming at working out a permanent, comprehensive and stable arrangement in Lebanon, whose essence is: a strong central regime which will control all of Lebanon's territory. So far so good. However,

Washington also wants this "strong administration" in Lebanon to obtain the internal legitimization of all the components making up the Lebanese nationality, as well as the broadest possible Arab legitimization. It also wants this administration to be linked through an umbilical cord to the United States. If this is what the United States wants, it does not have a problem with Israel, but with Syria, the PLO, the Lebanese Muslims and the Soviet Union (see Andrey Gromyko's speech...).

Does the United States really think that Israel could, as usual, bear the entire burden and pay all the costs? When Habib told Foreign Minister Shamir that the Lebanese have reached the "limit" of their concessions, Shamir replied: We gave up more.

Habib did not like hearing the moral lesson from the foreign minister, who explained how Israel sees things in relation to what occurred this week in the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. The Americans still believe that those who perpetrated the deed belong to the "crazy fringe." Well, this is not so. Lebanon is teeming with such lunatics.

The Americans estimated that it would be possible to conclude the negotiations "within a few weeks." It is possible to conclude them in an even shorter period of time, on one condition: that Habib go to President Amin al-Jumayyil and tell him that he must reach an arrangement with Israel, and that Habib believes Israel has given up a lot and has really gone a long way toward Lebanon. If he says that, the seemingly insoluble problem of Haddad could also find a solution. But as long as Habib continues to "understand" the Lebanese who have reached the limit of their concessions, the end of the negotiations is not a matter of weeks but of long months.

This phrase of the Lebanese, "leave it to us," which is part of the reward al-Jumayyil is prepared to give Israel in return for withdrawing its forces from Lebanon, is utterly unconvincing. One can say a lot for the Lebanese, except for one thing: That they can be relied upon....

CSO: 4400/301

HUSAYN SAID TO GAIN STATUS IN TERRITORIES

TA251120 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 25 Apr 83 p 2

[Report by Yosef Tzuri'el]

[Text] An examination conducted by U.S. elements in East Jerusalem and in Judaea and Samaria indicates that King Husayn is gaining prestige and sympathy among the regional inhabitants. U.S. elements view this as a sign to continue and encourage the Jordanian Government to join the political negotiations with Israel.

Tens of Arab public figures were asked by the U.S. elements to address themselves to two major issues: The influence of the PLO defeat in Lebanon on Husayn's status among the region's residents, and what interpretation was given to Husayn's announcement that at this stage he is not prepared to join the political negotiations.

The reactions gathered indicated that the "layer of loyalists" to King Husayn remained unshaken, but there is no novelty in this. The interesting element is that a large group of personages who viewed King Husayn as an obstacle for many years and even called him a traitor, today view him as a means for achieving a political settlement in the region.

In the opinion of the U.S. elements, this provides proof to the firmness of Husayn's status among the local Arabs, and their inference is that further efforts should be made to persuade him to shoulder the lion's share of the negotiations with Israel.

The opinion prevalent in the leadership of the Civilian Administration in Judaea and Samaria is almost identical to that of the American elements, but the interpretation is different: Husayn does not want to complicate himself in the Palestinian problem anymore and the situation he has got accustomed to since September 1970 is the lesser of two evils for him.

CSO: 4400/301

BROADCAST AUTHORITY BOARD ON INTERVIEWING PALESTINIANS

TA261003 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 26 Apr 83 p 3

[Report by Judy Siegel]

[Excerpts] The Broadcasting Authority board of directors yesterday empowered Director-General Yosef Lapid to decide whether interviews with personalities in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District serve as anti-Israel propaganda. The board said he will have this prerogative in order to guarantee that Israel radio and television "don't become a forum for hostile propaganda by organizations like the PLO."

The 4-2 decision followed party lines. Chairman Re'uven Yaron, Mikha Yinon, Ahuva Meron and Aharon Papo of the coalition supported it, and Nisim Almog and Yisra'el Peleg of the Alignment opposed it.

The vote followed a ruling by the High Court of Justice that nullified a previous decision of the authority's board of directors, which prohibited TV reporters from initiating interviews with pro-PLO personalities in the administered areas. The court ruling did not disagree with the board in principle, but said the board's decision was untenable because of the difficulty of defining which personalities were meant.

The board also approved the authority's budget of IS3.1 billion for the new fiscal year. The budget must get cabinet approval, which it is likely to get next Sunday.

Mikha'el Karpin, former Bonn correspondent of Israel Television, was appointed acting editor of MABAT [TV nightly news reel], and a tender will be published in three months to find a permanent editor. The position has been vacant since Ya'ir Stern was appointed head of the news department a few months ago.

CSO: 4400/301

BRIEFS

WEST BANK LEAGUES' BUDGET--The Israeli Civilian Administration has approved a \$100 million budget for the village leagues in the territories. Most of it is to go for development projects. Requests by the leagues for funds to cover expenses of entertaining at home were turned down. [Text] [TA211231 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 21 Apr 83]

PLO OFFICE IN FINLAND--Israel has protested to Finland over the opening of the PLO office in Helsinki. Hanan Meron, the head of the European desk at the Foreign Ministry, expressed Israel's disappointment and concern over the Finnish Government decision. Meron told Finland's ambassador, Erkki Maentakanen, that it was astonishing that the Finnish Government had elevated the status of the terrorist organization at this time of intensified efforts to further peace in the area. [Text] [TA211832 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 21 Apr 83]

NEW IAI BOARD CHAIRMAN--Yisra'el Sakharov has been appointed chairman of the board of directors of the Israel Aircraft Industries. This was announced by the Defense Ministry spokesman. [TA230554 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 22 Apr 83 p 3]

SINAI TRAVEL TAX--A travel tax is to be collected at the land crossing points into the Sinai, but not at the Tabah crossing. From today Israelis crossing into Egypt at the Nizzana border post will have to pay 70 shekels and at Rafah, 320 shekels. There will be no tax at Tabah because Israeli authorities are trying to encourage tourism to that part of the Sinai. The new tax, in parallel with the \$50 travel tax on Israelis flying out of the country, will be adjusted to inflation at the beginning of each month. [Text] [TA240912 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 24 Apr 83]

BUSINESS CONTACTS WITH HUNGARY--In Jerusalem it was confirmed that a few businessmen from Hungary visited Israel and looked into possibilities of economic cooperation between the two countries. An Israeli who was involved in the past in establishing contacts between Israel and Hungary expressed the fear that the publications on this matter would endanger the development of economic ties between the two countries. Our correspondent Gid'on Zelinger says that the turnover of commerce between the two countries was \$15 million, in the last year. [Text] [TA251719 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 25 Apr 83]

PLO RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL--At today's special Knesset session, Me'ir Wilner revealed from the podium that a few days ago he met in Prague with Yasir 'Arafat. According to Wilner, the PLO is definitely willing to recognize Israel's existence alongside a Palestinian state. [Excerpt] [TA251244 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 25 Apr 83]

NEW WEEKLY DEFENSE SURVEY--In what appears to be the first step towards the establishment of a National Defence Council, Defence Minister Moshe Arens has started preparing a weekly defence survey of the Middle East. The survey, prepared by IDF Intelligence, contains texts, maps, illustrations and graphic explanations of the Middle East situation, and is kept at the cabinet secretary's desk. Any member of the ministerial defence committee who wishes to consult the survey must do so at the desk, but may do so at any time. Sources close to Arens said the minister is determined to give the committee members as much information as possible, to enable them to function with the greatest efficiency. The sources see the institution of the survey as a prelude to the establishment of a National Defence Council--something Arens has said he intends to set up. [Text] [TA250709 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 25 Apr 83 p 2]

CSO: 4400/301

MOVEMENT TO EXPLOIT NONPETROLEUM RESOURCES EXAMINED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 320, 9 Apr 83 pp 41-42

[Article: "Reduction of Saudi Oil Quickens Exploitation of Other Resources"]

[Text] Aside from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's oil, gas, and coal resources and its mineral resources such as iron, copper, uranium, gold, silver, tin, and aluminum, there are other resources such as marble and other valuable stones currently being examined as a first step toward economical exploitation of these resources.

Saudi government officials described these resources as "awesome" after sending exploratory teams to various regions, particularly the mountain regions, making field tests, and analyzing samples in special laboratories.

What has prompted officials to conduct such exploration is the tremendous construction activity and the need for decorative stone for building facades, floors, and other surfaces.

Exploration, which has been conducted with the cooperation of French experts, has led to the discovery of about 128 deposits of granite and marble, including rare, top-quality varieties similar to Italian and European varieties.

The value of this ancient but newly important resource is the ease with which it is exploited, the large return, and the speed with which it can be exploited by the private sector. A number of private firms have actually been granted concessions to exploit some of the deposits, especially those near cities and populated areas. A modern factory has been set up in Jiddah to cut and polish stone, and licenses are expected to be granted for nine other quarries.

Saudi officials are studying the feasibility of exporting a portion of production to the Gulf states and neighboring Arab countries. It is well known that all Arab countries import granite and marble from abroad and pay large amounts for shipping from the country of origin. Sometimes the amount greatly exceeds the purchase price of the stone, considering its size and weight. It should be noted that most of the quarries are located in western Saudi Arabia relatively close to the sea and major ports.

Some of the varieties discovered are the Yara mountain gray granite from Yara mountain, 43 kilometers from the city of Yanbu'; the Ta'if rose and gray granite located 34 kilometers west of al-Ta'if; the Jamjum rose granite located northeast of Jiddah; the Najuf crimson and rose granite found abundantly in a region 80 kilometers from Majran; the Abha red granite found in abundance in the Medina region; and the Najran brown granite located 50 kilometers west of Najran. There is also the Riyadh yellow stone found west and southwest of Riyadh, the black stone of al-Na'im mountain, and about 12 different varieties and colors of marble.

Saudi officials have noted that exploration activities will be under way for several years and that it is, therefore, difficult to determine the Kingdom's decorative stone resources considering the vastness and remoteness of the areas to be explored.

What limits the exploitation of these resources is that most of the sites are in remote desert areas which are difficult to live in, especially during the hot summer months. Exploiting these resources requires a special infrastructure including roads and railways. The tendency now, then, is to exploit quarries located near populated areas.

The Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources authorized foreign firms to evaluate Saudi mineral wealth. They discovered copper, iron, bauxite, tin, gold, zinc and others in commercial quantities. It was announced recently that radioactive minerals such as uranium existed in the western part of the kingdom, but the amounts and the possibility of exploitation have not been determined.

Meanwhile, Aramco officials have said that foreign oil companies have recently shown an interest in exploratory drillings in the eastern part of the kingdom to deep levels which contain huge amounts of natural gas. This new resource, despite being much less important than the huge Saudi oil resource, will nonetheless provide a respectable income in the future.

It is worth noting that most of Saudi Arabia's oil wealth is located in the Eastern Province, while its mineral wealth is abundant and dispersed throughout the Western Province.

Talk of the existence and discovery of mineral and gas resources comes at a time when Saudi oil and associated gas exports have begun to drop sharply. It is said that the kingdom's oil production has dropped to 3.3 million barrels per day during the last two months, and, of course, the price of oil has dropped, leading Crown Prince 'Abdallah ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz to say that certain development programs in the third five-year plan must be cut. The plan is estimated to cost approximately 300 billion dollars or about 90 billion Saudi riyals.

At the first Saudi businessmen's conference held recently in Dhahran, an air of concern prevailed due to this sharp decline. This led Saudi officials to reaffirm that the decline in revenues would not affect economic activities, especially those of the private sector.

It is felt that shrinking oil revenues will quicken plans to exploit raw materials which have been proved beyond doubt to exist in commercial quantities. The Saudi strategy concerning exploitation of its mineral resources dictates that such resources be processed and sold as finished or semi-finished goods, and not exported in raw form. The value of a resource as a raw material is much less than its value as a finished product. The minerals most likely to be exploited today are gold, copper, aluminum, and iron.

CSO: 4404/335

REPORTAGE ON SOUTH ASIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS' PARLEY

Meeting Opens 28 Mar

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 29 Mar 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The Dhaka meeting of the Foreign Secretaries of the seven South Asian countries which started on Monday made a significant stride towards the implementation of the proposed forum for South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) by deciding to hold the Foreign Minister level meeting of the forum in New Delhi sometime in last week of July or first week of August.

The exact date of the Foreign Minister-level meeting will be announced within a week's time after consultations among the seven South Asian capitals.

Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Sham-ud Doha inaugurated the fourth meeting of Foreign Secretaries of the South Asian region on Monday stressing the need for regional cooperation and cohesion through "our own supportive strength and self-reliance" for a lasting peace in this region. He believes that the obstacles towards South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) have been formidable but added he, the current endeavour for this cooperation initiated by Bangladesh three years ago had assumed the "phase of implementation" from the critical stage of the "preparatory build-up" through a climate of trust and goodwill.

Referring to the evolution of SARC through the three previous Foreign Secretary-level meetings at Colombo, Kathmandu and Islamabad Mr. Doha said that those meetings constituted historic milestones in the search of regional cohesion. He was happy to note that within three years time the process of SARC had acquired an irreversible momentum. He said that the regional cooperation had today been anchored on a firm institutional base.

Recalling the background of SARC Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. S. Doha said that despite susceptibility and vulnerability of the South Asian countries to external pressures the impetus for regional cooperation came from within the region not without. "It was not an imposition but a choice for association voluntarily arrived at", he observed. The SARC he added "underscored the need for taking into specific cognizance asymmetries among countries of the region and for equitable sharing of expected economic benefits of all member states irrespective of their stage of development".

The Foreign Minister reminded all that regional cooperation is "essentially a continuum not measured in terms of months or years or decades but a dynamic process building and reinforcing itself through concentric accretion". In view of the global challenges that assail us, he said regional cooperation had become "desirable, necessary and beneficial".

New Chairman

At the beginning of the meeting Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Mr. A. H. S. Ataul Karim was elected Chairman of the three-day Dhaka meeting. The leader of the Maldives delegation Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs Mr. Ibrahim Mussa Zaki proposed the name of Mr. Ataul Karim for the chairmanship. The leader of the Bhutanese delegation Dr. T. Tobgyel seconded the proposal and the Foreign Secretaries of the seven nation South Asian Regional Cooperation Forum unanimously elected Mr. Ataul Karim as Chairman.

The out-going Chairman, the Pakistan Foreign Secretary Mr. Niaz Naik in his speech said that Bangladesh sowed the seed of regional cooperation in South Asia and that seed, he observed had since "grown into a plant which would surely take strong root". He said that the Dhaka meeting "rekindles the hallowed memory of the late President Ziaur Rahman whose initiative in May 1980 set in motion the process of consultations for the creation of a new forum of cooperation in our region". He said that no account of the evolution of this process of regional cooperation would be complete without full recognition of the pioneering role played by Bangladesh in the realisation of this concept.

The Nepalese Foreign Secretary Mr. Bishwa Pradhan who proposed vote of thanks to Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Shams-ud Doha said that SARC had become necessary not only for this region but for the Third World countries that need peace harmony, stability and cooperation for economic development.

An official spokesman who briefed newsmen in the evening said that the first and second working sessions of the fourth meeting of the foreign Secretaries of the South Asian region were held in an "atmosphere of utmost cordiality, close understanding and cooperation". During the first session the leaders of the delegations presented their general statements. The Foreign Secretary of Sri Lanka Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe who was the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole presented the integrated programme of action during the second working session. The meeting endorsed the report of the Committee of the Whole.

The Monday's sessions decided to hold a preparatory meeting of the Foreign Secretaries preceding the Foreign Minister level meeting.

The Foreign Secretaries will resume their discussions for the second day today (Tuesday) at 9.30 a. m. at Hotel Sonargaon.

Mr. Reaz Rahman, Additional Foreign Secretary is acting as the Secretary General of the three-day Dhaka meeting.

The meeting is being attended by Dasho (Dr.) T. Tobgyel of Bhutan Mr. M. Rasgotra of India, Mr. Ibrahim Hussain Zaki of Maldives, Mr. Bishwa Pradhan of Nepal, Mr. Niaz A. Naik of Pakistan, Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe of Sri Lanka and the host Foreign Secretary Mr. A. H. S. Ataul Karim.

Text of Communique

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 30 Mar, 1 Apr 83

[30 March 83 pp 1, 8]

[Text] The Foreign Secretaries of the seven South Asian countries on Tuesday expressed their firm conviction that regional cooperation would contribute to 'confidence-building' and creation of "climate of goodwill friendship and understanding" for meaningful and mutually beneficial bilateral relations among the member countries.

Addressing a joint Press conference immediately after the completion of their fourth meeting on South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) in Dhaka the Foreign Secretaries said that the stage or formal launching of regional co-operative activities had now been reached. They believed that the successful implementation of the idea of regional cooperation of South Asian countries would be a leap forward towards economic development and a lasting peace in the region.

Reading out the joint communique of the Dhaka meeting Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Mr. A. H. S. Ataul Karim who is also the Chairman of the meeting said that they had finished ahead of the schedule after reaching a consensus on the timing and venue of the Foreign Ministers-level meeting which would formally launched the implementation of the SARC. The Foreign Ministers-level meeting will be held in New Delhi between August 1 and August 3.

Mr. Ataul Karim said that another substantive task of the Dhaka meeting was to approve the integrated programme of action recommended by the committee of the whole. The action programme includes activities amenable to short-term as well as long-term cooperation defines modalities for its implementation at the sectoral level by the technical committees and its coordination and monitoring at the regional level by a standing committee and it elaborates guidelines and arrangements for its financing.

The joint communique said that the Foreign Secretaries welcomed the offers of assistance received from the EEC and ITU or activities connected with regional cooperation in South Asia.

Reciprocating the bouyant spirit of the Chairman about the successful conclusion of the fourth meeting of the Foreign Secretaries of SARC the Indian Foreign Secretary Mr. M Rasgotra said that the seven South Asian countries

were now working in a 'family environment'. He said that inspite of the differences and misunderstanding among the South Asian countries "we are progressing fast towards meaningful regional cooperation".

When asked to comment on the outcome of the Dhaka meeting the Pakistan Foreign Secretary Mr. Niaz A. Naik who was the Chairman of the third meeting of the Foreign Secretaries of South Asian countries held in Islamabad said that he felt very happy that the regional cooperation was going to be a reality from its conceptual stage.

Replying to a question whether South Asian regional cooperation would follow other such regional cooperation body like ASEAN or EEC Mr Ataul Karim said that SARC would not copy any other such organisation. "Every region has its peculiarity so SARC will also have its own characteristic" he added.

Asked whether SARC will place political resolutions as ASEAN group has done on Kampuchea and Afghanistan Mr. Ataul Karim said that SARC aimed at economic cultural and social cooperation among the member states.

Replying to a question whether SARC will raise the sharing of water resources among the member states, Mr. Ataul Karim said that the issue did not concern all the members of the forum. He said that regional cooperation would give impetus to resolve the bilateral issues.

The joint Press conference was attended by the Foreign Secretary of Sri Lanka, Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe Foreign Secretary of Nepal Mr. Bishwa Pradhan Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Maldives Mr. Ibrahim Hussain Zaki and the leader of the Bhutanese delegation Dr T. Tobgyel. Other members of the delegations from the seven South Asian countries were also present at the Press conference.

[1 Apr 83 p 3]

The following is the remaining part of the text of Joint Communique issued in Dhaka on Tuesday at the conclusion of the fourth meeting of Foreign Secretaries of South Asian countries reports BSS.

The Foreign Secretaries considered the report of the meeting of the Committee of the Whole convened in pursuance of the directives laid down in paragraphs 15-18 of their Islamabad Joint Communique. The report recommends an integrated programme of action comprising activities amenable to short-term as well as long-term cooperation defines modalities for its implementation at the sectoral level by the technical committees and its coordination and monitoring at the regional level by a Standing Committee as well as elaborates guidelines and arrangements for its financing. The Foreign Secretaries expressed their deep appreciation of the excellent work done by the Committee of the Whole as well as sectoral working groups in fulfilling their mandate. The meeting fully endorsed the recommendations contained in the report of the Committee of the Whole and decided to recommend the adoption of the integrated programme of action by their Foreign Ministers at their meeting which would formally launch its implementation.

The Foreign Secretaries decided that the committee proposed for coordinating and monitoring the integrated programme of action at the regional level should be designated as the Standing Committee and be constituted at their level. They further agreed that the Standing Committee would meet at least once a year and as often as it deemed necessary. The Foreign Secretaries could also call for convening of expert level meeting whenever the discussion of technical issues might warrant.

The Foreign Secretaries agreed that all efforts should now be made for expeditious implementation of the integrated programme of action. Considering that South Asian regional cooperation is an evolutionary process they further agreed that studies be initiated in due course to identify additional areas of cooperation.

Recognising the progress that had already been achieved in developing a framework for structured regional cooperation in South Asia the Foreign Secretaries affirmed their belief that necessary preparatory work for a ministerial level meeting had been successfully completed and that the stage for launching implementation of regional cooperative activities had now been reached. They recalled the earlier agreement of their governments and the importance and imperative necessity of holding a Ministerial meeting at an early date and accordingly agreed to recommend to their Foreign Ministers to convene a meeting at their level between the last week of July and the first week of August 1983 with a view to launching the integrated programme of action. The meeting of Foreign Ministers would be immediately preceded by a meeting of Foreign Secretaries.

It was agreed that the meeting of Foreign Ministers be held at New Delhi. The precise dates for this meeting are to be decided upon through consultations.

The Foreign Secretaries noted with satisfaction the report of the meeting of the representatives of national planning organizations of the seven countries held in New Delhi from January, 24-25 1983 and agreed that it would be useful to hold such meetings periodically.

The Foreign Secretaries noted with appreciation that India as the Coordinator country of the study group on sports art and culture would convene its first meeting at a very early date.

The Foreign Secretaries welcomed the offers of assistance received from the EEC and ITU for activities connected with regional cooperation in South Asia.

The visiting Foreign Secretaries expressed their appreciation to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for the excellent arrangements made for the meeting and the generous hospitality extended to their delegations.

The visiting Foreign Secretaries expressed gratitude for the honour of having been received by the Chief Martial Law Administrator of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, His Excellency Lieutenant General H. M. Ershad ndc psc.

BNP PARTY LEADER CONVENES EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 29 Mar 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Dr. A. Q. M. Badruddoza Chowdhury, Secretary-General of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) has convened an extended meeting of the party's national Executive Committee at 3 p. m. on April 1, at Nowab Yusuf Market.

All members of the party's national executive committees, presidents, secretaries of all front organisation, district units, former minister and MP's have been requested to attend the meeting.

Dr. B. Chowdhury in a statement said that it has to come to their notice that some people have convened a requisition meeting of the party on April 2. He added that according to party constitution when a meeting is not convened after receipt of notice of requisitioning a meeting by the party chairman only then a requisition meeting can be convened. The party chairman of myself has not received any notice on requisitioning a meeting. So to term the meeting on April 2 as "requisition meeting" or the organisers of the meeting as "conventionist" could not be correct, he said.

Leaders of six front organisation of BNP in a joint statement on Monday expressed their allegiance to the leadership or party Chairman, Mr. Justice Abdus Sattar, Begam Khaleda Zia and Dr. Badruddoza Chowdhury. They called upon all concerned to attend the meeting of the party's national Executive Committee on April 1.

The front leaders also said that BNP has no connection with the so-called convention.

The signatories to the statement are: Mr. Golam Sarwar Milan, President and Mr. Abul Kashem Choudhury, General Secretary of Chhatra Dal, Mr. Saifur Rahman, General Secretary of Jatiyatabadi Jubo Dal, Begum Sarwari Rahman, General Secretary of Jatiyatabadi Mahila Dal, Professor Jahanara Rahman, President of Jubo Mahila Dal, Mr. Rezaul Karim Talukdar, Acting President and Mr. Rezabuddowla Choudhury, General Secretary of Jatiyatabadi Samajik Sangkritik Dal, Mr. Sirajul Huq Mantu, chief of Krishak Dal.

Mr. Rafiqul Huq Hafiz, Central Committee member of Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal has been expelled from the organisation on charges of activities against the interest of the organisation, Mr. Golam Sarwar Milan, President and Mr. Abul

Kashem Choudhury, General Secretary of Chhatra Dal in a Press release on Monday made this announcement.

Shamsul Huda's Call

Meanwhile, Mr. Shamsul Huda Choudhury, former Information Minister and leader of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), one of the main organisers of the party convention schedule to be held on April 2 in a statement on Monday called upon the present party leadership to come out with a clear reply to the demands made by the supporters of the convention. He urged them to refrain from making "unbalanced utterances".

In the statement, Mr. Choudhury said that we protest the false and malicious propaganda being made by the coterie of leaders who are now afraid of the support extended to the party's informal meeting on April 2 and who have derided themselves from the party and party leader Ziaur Rahman's ideals. He said that the meeting on April 2 has been convened to save the party from the clutches of the leaders who have failed to play a practical role in the light of the national perspective, to carry forward the politics of national unity on the basis of Bangladesh nationalism, oppose expansionism and hegemonism and to unite all in favour of national independence and sovereignty.

Mr. Choudhury protested a comment by party leaders published in newspapers on March 28 in which they said that the April 2 meeting has been convened with a view to sharing power. He said we want to clearly state that the meeting is being held with the objective of strengthening the organisation under a bold and dynamic leadership. He said that Inshallah none can check its success through misleading propaganda, resorting to character assassination or misleading the supporters. Mr. Choudhury further said that those who were trying to brand up as opposed to Zia's ideal were actually trying to impose on us this charge because they know that their role against anti Zia will be unmasked.

Meanwhile forty leaders of BNP including 21 former MP's, 17 district leaders in a statement on Monday extended full support to the party convention on April 2.

In a separate statement on Monday, three leaders of the Bangladesh Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal extended support to the convention. The signatories are: Mr. Enamul Karim Shahid, former President JCD, Mr. Nazmul Ahsan, Central Committee member of JCD and Mr. Ali Imam, central leader of JCD.

CSO: 4600/1970

HUGE BACKLOG OF UNUSED FOREIGN AID

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 18 Mar 83 p 18

[Article by Alamgir Hossain in Dacca]

Text]

HAT in hand, Bangladesh goes shopping for foreign aid every year, but huge inventories of aid goods are left unused because of faulty government planning.

Authoritative estimates have placed the volume of unused foreign aid at 99 per cent of the total annual foreign assistance channelled into Bangladesh.

The backlog involves mainly project and commodity assistance. Food aid remains the fastest moving items in the foreign aid inventory, but even food distribution was seriously flawed until local recipients virtually ganged up on aid administrators to improve their distribution system.

The pressure on the aid officials resulted in a more systematic distribution system, but still 10 per cent of the annual food aid is left untouched in the storehouses by the time these commodities are supposed to have been given to intended beneficiaries.

The main problem of utilisation concerns project and commodity assistance. Development projects, for which the commodity aid requires a long gestation period, sometimes years, before an aid package can be fully utilised.

In the case of project aid, only about one to two per cent is utilised in a year's time, while the disposal rate of commodity assistance ranges from 20-22 per cent.

The inability of the government to take full advantage of project aid has caused disappointment among the aid-giving countries as well as the Bangladeshis.

Development projects inevitably arouse people's expectations and once these are delayed or mismanaged, the result is social and political tensions.

Foreign-assisted

Bangladeshi officials admit that the slow rate of implementation of foreign-assisted development projects is eroding the confidence of aid-givers in the capability of the government to implement the projects according to agreed timetables, and consequently, making it more difficult for Dacca to negotiate for further assistance.

But government officials insist that the implementation of development projects is affected by several factors, not the least of which is the vagaries of the weather.

However, observers claim that governmental planning and acute lack of local financial resources are the main drawbacks to the implementation of development projects on schedule.

The government is not only hard-pressed looking for the usual counterpart fund to finance foreign-assisted projects, even the planning for these projects is, more often than not, haphazard.

In many cases, even committed donors turn away from Bangladeshi projects when they realise critical flaws in project planning.

Not surprisingly, the External Resources Division of Bangladesh has blamed the delay in the organisation of project committees, the problem of right-of-way acquisition and other relatively minor problems for the country's growing difficulties with traditional aid-givers.

The External Resources Division is the government agency that oversees the utilisation of foreign assistance to Bangladesh.

The burgeoning foreign indebtedness has greatly reduced the government's capacity to meet the timetables of foreign-assisted projects.

Budgetary targets

The country's total hard term borrowing as of last June 1982 was US\$395 million, US\$235 million of which was outstanding. In 1980-82, the outstanding debt burden was only US\$35 million.

During the first year of the Second Five Year Plan (1980-85), mobilisation of external resources was much lower than government targets. However, actual fund disbursements, which usually exceed fixed budgetary targets, were much lower than approved outlays.

Of the US\$1,642 million appropriated for the first year of the Second Five Year Plan, only US\$1,147 was actually disbursed.

But the reduction in actual expenditures vis-a-vis programmed outlays has given Bangladeshis no cause for celebration. The squeeze on disbursements means that less money is going into the country's development projects than before.

In fiscal year 1980-81, only 25 per cent of foreign aid to local projects, and a mere 2 per cent of new aid commitments was actually available. And for the past several years the rate of utilisation of foreign assistance to development projects has remained low.

Bangladesh's foreign aid negotiators are getting high grades for their performance. But local implementors of foreign aid-assisted projects are not doing as well as the fund-raisers.

Last year, Bangladesh obtained US\$32.8 million in foreign aid for development projects, and an additional commitment of US\$13.1 million.

The quest for more foreign assistance goes on, while idle aid outlays accumulate. This year alone, US\$45.9 million in foreign aid is tied up in banks unutilised. — Depthnews Asia.

BRIEFS

DRAFT ELECTORAL ROLLS--The draft electoral rolls were published by the Election Commission throughout the country on Monday. The enumeration of voters in the Dhaka metropolitan area was completed and the draft electoral rolls were published on Monday. The number of voters under 50 wards of the Dhaka metropolitan area now stands at 1243765 of which 762881 are male and 480884 are female. According to the Election Commission officials the number of voters in the Dhaka metropolitan area has increased by more than 20 per cent. 2807 enumerators and 703 supervisors five registration officers and 16 assistant registration officers were engaged in the preparation of electoral rolls in the city areas. On Monday a group of journalists were taken round the different areas of the city and shown the draft electoral rolls of the different wards of the Dhaka metropolitan city. According to Election Commission source the number of voters in 13 wards under Sutrapur and Kotwali police stations have increased by 45,000 in 1983. The number of voters now stands in the 13 wards under Sutrapur and Kotwali police stations now stands at 225,628. The number of voters in areas mentioned was 180,000 in 1976. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 29 Mar 83 p 1]

CSO: 4600/1971

MEETING OF INDO-SOVIET PLANNING GROUP REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Apr 83 p 5

[Text] The Soviet Union has evinced interest in Indian expertise for developing biogas plants, reports UNI.

The Soviet Union is contemplating large-scale utilisation of biogas for various purposes, including its use as a substitute for gasoline.

During the eight-day session of the seventh meeting of the Indo-Soviet planning group which ended in New Delhi recently, the Soviet side said it wished to gather detailed information about India's experience in developing biogas.

The group identified planning of fuel energy complex, regional planning problems of development and efficient utilisation of railway transport and water resources 'for fruitful cooperation in planning between the two countries.

The next meeting of the group will be held in Moscow in 1984, according to the agreed minutes of the seventh meeting signed by leaders of the two teams, Mr A V Bachurin and Mr A M Khusro.

During the discussions, the Soviet side explained that their regional plans comprised, vertically, sectors and branches and horizontally, social and economic infrastructure and manpower. The Indian team felt several aspects of the Soviet regional planning would be useful in resolving similar problems in India.

It was noted that the planning of fuel energy complex could be of particular importance in drawing up development plans in the two countries.

The Indian team showed interest in the recent initiative taken by the Soviet Union for developing non-conventional sources of energy, including solar, geothermal and tidal.

Both sides explained that their regional plans comprised, vertically, sectors and branches and horizontally, social and economic infrastructure and manpower. The Indian team felt several aspects of the Soviet regional planning would be useful in resolving similar problems in India.

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Both sides explained the system of irrigation planning in their respective countries. They also discussed common problems like salinity in irrigated land, water use efficiency, land reclamation and maintenance of irrigation system.

CSO: 4600/1980

U. S., INDIA MAKE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 1.

An earnest effort is being made behind the scenes by both India and the United States to avert an abrupt lurch back to running animosities and irritations in Indo-American relations in the wake of their persisting differences over bilateral as well as international issues.

The U.S. Ambassador to India, Mr. Harry Barnes, who is leaving for China this week-end on a private visit, will be back in Delhi by the middle of April for a series of exchanges on all aspects of Indo-American relations, before going to Washington for a month on a working holiday to prepare for the Shultz visit to India at the end of June or beginning of July depending on Mrs. Gandhi's convenience.

The U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz, will be in Bangkok in the last week of June to attend the annual ministerial meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and he intends to visit India and Pakistan thereafter before returning to Washington. The visit to India is ostensibly to participate in the much postponed ministerial meeting of the Indo-U.S. Joint Commission, but the real purpose is to have a detailed exchange of views with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on both bilateral and international issues.

Reagan may visit Asia: The Shultz visit is also intended to set the right tone for the proposed trip of the U.S. Vice-President, Mr.

George Bush, later this year for keeping up the momentum of Indo-American exchanges. There is also some vague talk of a possible swing through Asia by the U.S. President Mr. Reagan, himself early next year with whistle stops, as it were, in Tokyo, Beijing, Delhi and Islamabad, besides some other capitals in the region.

But before Mr. Bush arrives on the scene, the necessary spadework has to be done during the Shultz visit to eliminate some of the avoidable irritants from Indo-American relations. The Pakistan factor continues to be the

main cause of the recurring frictions. The unresolved controversy over the nuclear spares has also been souring the relationship by sowing fresh doubts in India's mind about U.S. intentions.

The emergence of India as Chairman of the non-aligned movement for the next three years has imposed additional responsibilities on the country requiring a closer coordination between its enlightened self-interest and the shared obligations with the rest of the Third World in striving for an equitable relationship with the industrially advanced societies of the West, notably the U.S. because of its pre-eminent position. It calls for consummate diplomatic skill in preserving the right perspective in the performance of the two roles, without causing undue offence to Washington.

The correspondence that Mrs. Gandhi is initiating with Mr. Reagan on the recent non-aligned summit decisions is primarily intended to persuade and make it possible for the U.S.

President to respond to her plea to attend the next U.N. General Assembly session in New York in September along with other heads of Government for talks on global problems.

Though it is too early to assess how the U.S. is going to respond to this plea for Mr. Reagan's presence, the State Department is reported to be drawing a distinction between the President's willingness to address the General Assembly and his inclination to take part in any North-South talks during the session.

Invitation to PM likely: As Mrs. Gandhi is going to be in New York for at least a week, if not longer, during the General Assembly session, Mr. Reagan might request her to meet him in Washington in case he is reluctant to engage in any collective discussions at the U.N. with other visiting heads of Government.

Though it has voiced its unhappiness quite openly, and even given expression publicly to its disapproval, over the tone and tenor of some of the summit declarations, the U.S. has not also concealed its satisfaction over India's assumption of the chairmanship of the non-aligned community at this difficult juncture.

And despite the fact that the two countries continue to operate on different wavelengths and also work at cross-purposes at times in dealing with regional security problems impinging on Indo-Pakistan relations, there is enough scope for India and the U.S. to work together within this limited framework to prevent an escalation of the existing tensions, which is essential for a wider dialogue on global issues.

CSO: 4600/1979

INDIA OBJECTS TO U.S. VISA FOR KHALISTAN LEADER

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Mar 83 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 24.—The External Affairs Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, announced in the Lok Sabha today that the action of the U.S. Government in granting a visa to the self-styled "Khalistan" leader, Mr Jagjit Singh Chauhan, could affect relations between the two countries. "This is a matter which concerns the integrity of the country", he said.

Mr Rao said India had conveyed, "quite forcefully", its strong feelings to the U.S. Government. Mr Rao, who was replying to an eight-hour debate on the demands for grants of his Ministry, said the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, had written to him that India need not "agree on all questions but we can improve relations".

The External Affairs Minister told the House that Mr Shultz's statement was, in general, true. However, "then this problem the granting of a visa to a 'Khalistan' protagonist is something in which relations cannot but be affected".

With regard to relations with Pakistan Mr Rao pointedly referred to the induction of sophisticated arms by that country, which, according to him, came in the way of rapid improvement of relations between the two countries.

Mr Rao said India had taken measures to ensure that all Heads of State or Government attended the forthcoming 38th session of the United Nations to a suggestion

made by Mrs Gandhi at the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit in Delhi recently. He said: "We shall take steps to see that attendance by Heads of State or Government becomes a reality to discuss major issues facing the world".

On the follow-up action taken on the summit declarations, Mr Rao said arrangements had been completed for transmitting the New Delhi message and the summit document to all Heads of State and Government, specially of nuclear weapon States and industrialized countries to obtain their co-operation for the implementation of the suggestions contained in them. The New Delhi message and the document had evoked a great deal of interest all over the world.

As chairman of the non-aligned movement, he said, India would have to convene a meeting of the Coordination Bureau and this was being done in consultation with other non-aligned nations. On the economic side, he would attend the Group of 77 meeting at Buenos Aires beginning next week. His participation, in addition to that of

the Commerce Minister, was to explain the views expressed at the Non-Aligned Summit regarding economic aspects, he said, adding that the Group of 77 meeting would be followed up by the UNCTAD-VI in Belgrade in June.

The External Affairs Minister said India did not follow a policy of "equi-distance" between the two super Powers, nor did it consider that equating the two super Powers was adequate. There were issues on which either of the super Powers agreed with India. India, therefore, decided different questions on merit and not on the basis of super Power rivalry. Mr Rao declared.

On Tibet, he said India's stand was that Tibet was an integral part "of China". He also welcomed a Sri Lanka Minister, Mr Thondamant's recent statement on the problem of Stateless persons in that country.

Mr Rao said a new emigration Bill was ready. The Minister for Labour would soon introduce it in the House.

CSO: 4600/1917

'MAJOR RESHUFFLE' OF HARYANA CABINET POSTS REPORTED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] Chandigarh, March 29 (UNI): In a major reshuffle, the Haryana chief minister, Mr. Bhajan Lal, today changed the portfolios of three of his cabinet ministers and two ministers of state.

Mr. Lachhman Singh was divested of the key industry portfolio and entrusted with the public health wing of the public works department, according to an official announcement here.

Mrs. Shakuntala Bhagwaria, who has been looking after social welfare and welfare of scheduled castes and backward classes, gets industry and industrial training.

Mr. Harpal Singh has been relieved of his charge of town and country planning, urban estates and colonisation departments. He now gets public works department bridges and roads and architecture.

The chief minister took over all the three departments previously held by Mr. Harpal Singh.

The chief minister took over all the three departments previously held by Mr. Harpal Singh.

The chief minister at present looks after general administration, social education, home (CID), institutional finance and credit control and administration of justice.

The minister of state for public works, Mr. Goverdhan Dass Chauhan, has been entrusted with social welfare and welfare of scheduled castes and backward classes, which were being looked after by Mrs. Bhagwaria.

Mr. Lal Singh, minister of state for public health, now gets independent charge of animal husbandry. He will remain attached to the development and panchayat minister as before.

The portfolios of other ministers remained unchanged.

CSO: 4600/1975

CONGRESS-I TO REVIVE ANTIDISSIDENCE PANELS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 29.--The Congress (I) working president, Mr Kamalapati Tripathi, today said that his party was going to revive "a good old practice, prevalent during Jawaharlal Nehru's time", of having coordination committees in States, composed of both Government and organizational wings. The committees would help lessen friction between the two and eliminate dissidence.

During his informal talks with reporters, Mr Tripathi said a revival of these committees was suggested at the recent conclave of Pradesh Congress (I) presidents. Other recommendations of the PCC (I) chiefs' meeting were also being incorporated as guidelines for party men.

Mr Tripathi recalled that there used to be a six-member coordination committee in each State, composed of the Chief Minister and the Pradesh unit chief, and two members each from the ministerial and organizational wings. The committee meetings would be presided over either by the Chief Minister or the PCC president. The committee resolved all problems and disputes coming up before the party and dissidence was kept at a minimum.

If the coordination committees met at least once a month and sorted out the problems, there would be no need for the idssidents to rush to Delhi every now and then to seek the dismissal of the Chief Minister, Mr Tripathi said.

'Golden Rule'

Another "golden rule" being revived was the practice of Ministers informing the party unit presidents of their decision to visit a town or district headquarter. The party office in the area would be a must on the itinerary, and both the Government and the organizational side would benefit from this contact.

Mr Tripathi said that in States where the party was not in power, as in the South the organization had to be strengthened and reinforced by activating all party members and bringing into the fold some old members, who were not being approached.

A programme to make the party more dynamic and strong in the Southern States was under way. The party set-up in the three Southern States--Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nady--might undergo drastic reorganization.

Mr Tripathi did not see the possibility of any merger of the Congress (S) unit with his party in Tamil Nadu.

Under consideration was a move to reorganize the West Bengal PCC(I), in view of the merger of the State unit of the Congress (S) with the Congress (I) there, Mr Tripathi added.

CSO: 4600/1976

COMMISSION SET UP TO REVIEW CENTER-STATE TIES

Gandhi Statement Reported

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Mar 83 pp 1, 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 24
(UNI).

IN a surprise move, the government today announced the setting up of a commission under Mr. Justice R. S. Sarkaria, a retired judge of the supreme court, to review Centre-state relations.

Making a statement in both houses of Parliament, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said, if needed, more members could be added to the commission after ascertaining the views of Mr. Justice Sarkaria.

The announcement was welcomed by all opposition parties as fulfilling a long-felt need to have a comprehensive look at Centre-state relations in the light of the experience gained in the last 33 years after the constitution came into force.

In reply to a question, Mrs. Gandhi said the terms of reference would be finalised in consultation with the commission.

Asked by Mr. L. K. Advani (BJP) whether the states would be consulted while formulating the terms of reference, Mrs. Gandhi said they were free to put forward their views before the commission.

Mrs. Gandhi also said that it was open to the commission to consult experts.

Asked whether the decision had been taken because of the Akali demand or the Bangalore meeting of four southern chief ministers, Mrs. Gandhi said the decision had been taken long ago, as various states had been raising the issue time and again. It was not linked to any specific agitation or demand.

She said she did not announce it before because she generally did not

like to do such things in the midst of any agitation.

"Now that there is comparative calm and the Rajya Sabha is adjourning tomorrow for several weeks, the urgency was felt to announce it today," she said.

Sharing the concern of members that in any changes proposed in the constitution "the unity and integrity of the country should not be affected," Mrs. Gandhi said she had always stood "for a strong Centre and strong states."

"Even the Centre has to depend on the states for implementing programmes in several fields like agriculture, health, industry and education. Weak states cannot do this," she added.

Mrs. Gandhi made identical statements in both houses of parliament. She said, "The commission will examine the working of the arrangements between the Centre and the states and recommend such changes in the said arrangements as may be appropriate within the present constitutional framework."

Mrs. Gandhi said the government had been considering for some time past the need for a review of the existing arrangements between the Centre and states.

"While keeping in view the social and economic developments that have taken place over the years, such a review will take into account the importance of the unity and integrity of the country for promoting the welfare of the people," she added.

In the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Dinesh Goswami (Ind.) said pending the report of the commission, the government should set up an inter-state council as visualised in the constitution.

INTER-STATE COUNCIL

Mr. P. Ramamurti (CPM) inquired whether the terms of reference of the commission would include constitutional amendments so that the lacunae of the 1935 act repeated in the constitution could be removed.

Mr. Advani said devolution of financial powers also needed a review.

Mr. Era Sezhiyan (Janata) spoke of the need for a comprehensive and in-depth study instead of seeking the views of one individual.

Mr. A. G. Kuikarni (Cong-S) said all parties should co-operate with the government in making a success of the commission. He asked whether the commission would consider inter-state problems also.

Sheikh Abdul Rahman (LD) asked whether any time schedule had been set for the completion of the commission's work.

Replying to the points raised, Mrs. Gandhi said paucity of funds was not a problem peculiar to the states alone. The Centre also was in the same position of growing burden and demands

with resources not keeping pace.

The Prime Minister said the Centre's complaint was that the states did not use their powers to raise resources.

Financial aspects would certainly come up before the commission. "We are not worried that finances should be used in such a way as not to damage the economy," Mrs. Gandhi said.

Mrs. Gandhi said she was astonished to hear complaints now about the constitution which was shaped by eminent people and accepted by the constituent assembly and the people of India. She said the constitution had been amended whenever needed.

PTI adds: In a joint statement, the opposition leaders in parliament sought clarification of words "arrangements" and "existing constitutional framework" contained in Mrs. Gandhi's statement. A commission under ill-defined terms of reference was meaningless, they pointed out.

The opposition leaders, Mr. Harikrishan Singh Surjeet (CPM), Prof. Madhm Dandavate (Janata), Mr. L. K. Advani (BJP), Mr. Rasheed Masood (Lok Dal), Mr. Yogendra

Sharma (CPI), Mr. K. P. Umnikrishnan (Congress-S), Mr. Harikesh Bahadur (DSP), Mr. C. T. Dandapani (DMK), Mr. Chitta Basu (F.B.), Mr. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait (Muslim League) and Mr. Chandrajit Yadav (Janavadi).

They said during the tripartite talks on Punjab, what was agreed upon was a committee of constitutional experts and economists, among others, to go into the question of Centre-state relations with well-defined terms of reference. But the government had diluted it to name a single member commission which was highly inadequate for a review of this kind.

The opposition leaders appealed to the government to reconvene the tripartite meet on Punjab immediately and invite the Akali leadership.

They "earnestly" hoped that the Central government and the Akali leaders would respond to their appeal to convene the tripartite meeting.

They regretted that in the vacuum created by the suspension of the tripartite talks, irresponsible extremism was letting loose an orgy of murder and assault in Punjab.

Scope of Duties

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Mar 83 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 24 (UNI): The scope of the Sarkaria commission will cover the entire gamut of Centre-state relations and not merely the financial arrangements, according to authoritative sources.

Chapter 11 of the constitution — from article 245 to 263 — sets out the present arrangements in Centre-state relations.

The sources recalled how the government had agreed several months ago to set up an experts' committee to review Centre-state relations in the context of the demand by the Akali Dal in terms of its Anandpur Sahib resolution. However, it was made clear even then that the terms of reference would make no mention of this resolution, since this demand had also been made by several other parties and sections.

Though Mrs. Gandhi's statement does not specifically say whether the commission could propose changes in the constitution, it is explained that it would be for the commission to decide the issue.

The expression that the commission could "recommend changes in the existing arrangements as may be appropriate within the present constitutional framework" does not bar this body from proposing changes in the constitution for the consideration of the government, it is stated.

No time-limit has been indicated in the statement for submission of the report by the commission, but this may be done shortly.

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 25.

The Prime Minister's Secretariat is still working on the terms of reference of the Sarkaria Commission which will be required to look into the political, constitutional, financial and administrative aspects of Centre-State relations, before suggesting appropriate changes in the light of past experience.

The Centre has to decide also whether the commission should consist of more members other than Mr. Justice R. S. Sarkaria, who has been named Chairman in terms of the announcement made by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in Parliament.

The text of the Prime Minister's statement referred to the proposed panel as a "one-man" commission, but, in the official version released to the press later, the word was struck out in the light of Mrs. Gandhi's own observation in the Rajya Sabha that, if need be, more members could be added after ascertaining Mr. Justice Sarkaria's opinion.

Mounting pressures: Apart from the compulsion to come forward with the announcement before the Akalis stepped up their agitation, the Prime Minister realised that it would be unwise to delay the decision any longer because of the mounting pressures for a review of Centre-State relations. Another consideration that prevailed was that, if the Centre continued to drag its feet, some of the non-Congress (D)-ruled States like Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal might set up their own commissions, as the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu did in 1969 in appointing the P. V. Rajamannar Committee to make suitable recommendations.

Now that the Centre itself had taken the initiative in appointing the Sarkaria Commission, the States will be automatically precluded from setting up similar commissions for dealing with the same subject in terms of the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, which conferred concurrent powers on them for ordering an inquiry into any matter of definite public importance. It was evidently with this pre-emptive purpose in mind that the Centre announced yesterday the decision to set up the Sarkaria Commission before finalising its terms of reference.

Overall review essential: But any review of

Centre-State relations would be incomplete unless the Commission is empowered to examine issues like the adequacy or inadequacy of the present criteria and procedures for allocation of financial resources, the methods followed in appointing Governors and Judges of High Courts, the circumstances in which the Centre is empowered to impose President's rule or order dissolution of State Legislatures, the role of the National Defence Council and the Planning Commission, and the desirability of empowering the States to enact their own laws on more subjects without the need for obtaining the assent of the President.

The non-Congress (D)-ruled States have also been demanding, as was done at the recent conclave of the Southern Chief Ministers in Bangalore, a fresh look at the relevance of Articles 256 and 257, defining the administrative relations between the Centre and the States, especially the rights of the Centre to give directions to the States and their obligation to exercise their executive powers in such a manner as to ensure compliance with the laws enacted by Parliament. There is also the demand for revising or redrafting the Seventh Schedule to avoid the overlapping of the authority of the Centre and the States in respect of the Concurrent List.

The Rajamannar Committee had gone into all these aspects at great length and made many useful suggestions for changes within the framework of the present Constitution which merited serious consideration. But the Centre virtually ignored the report since it did not approve of the manner in which the DMK Government had appointed the Committee.

The crux of the problem is more political than constitutional in the sense that not only non-Congress (D), but even Congress (D) Chief Ministers have not been happy with the way the Centre has been treating them. The convulsions of the Congress split in 1969 and the increasing dependence of Mrs. Gandhi on the support of the non-Congress parties in Parliament for the survival of her Government, made her extremely suspicious of strong Chief Ministers because she felt that they would always be a threat to her supremacy at the Centre.

PLANNING COMMISSION APPOINTS ADVISORY PANEL

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Mar 83 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 25.

The Planning Commission is setting up a 22-member panel of economists to advise it on the formulation of national Plans and assessment of Plan performance.

The panel will consider specific issues relating to development and Planning of different States and regions. The members will normally meet twice a year.

The members are: Dr. Kanta Ahuja, Department of Economics, Rajasthan University, Jaipur, Dr. L. Z. Bhatti, Director General, National Council of Applied Economic Research, Dr. P. R. Brahmananda, Prof. of Economics, University of Bombay, Dr. Boudhayen Chattopadhyay and Dr. P. C. Goswami, Prof. and Head, Dept. of Agricultural Economics, Assam Agricultural University, Jorhat.

Dr. P. C. Joshi, Director, Institute of Economic Growth, Dr. Waheeduddin Khan, Director, Centre for Economic and Social Studies, Dr. C. T. Kurian, Director, Madras Institute of Development Studies, Dr. D. T. Lakdawala, Sardar Patel Institute of Economic and Social Research and Prof. S. C. Minocha, Department of Economics, Bhopal University.

Prof. Baidyanath Mishra, Vice-Chancellor, Orissa University of Agriculture and Technology, Dr. D. P. Nanjundappa, Vice-Chancellor, Dharwar University, Prof. K. A. Naqvi, Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, Dr. T. S. Papola, Director, Giri Institute of Development Studies, Lucknow, and Prof. G. Parthasarathy, Department of Economics and Applied Economics and Cooperation, Andhra University.

Dr. L. G. Patel, Director, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, Prof. Pradhan H. Prasad, A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna, Prof. V. M. Rao, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore and Dr. N. Rath, Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune.

Dr. H. K. Manmohan Singh, Prof. Dept. of Economics, Punjabi University, Patiala, Dr. A. Vaidyanathan, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum and Dr. Pravin Visaria, Sardar Patel Institute of Economics and Social Research, Ahmedabad.—Our Special Correspondent.

FURTHER DETAILS ON MANEKA GANDHI'S NEW PARTY

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Mar 83 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 26.

MRS. Maneka Gandhi today demanded that overseas Indians be allowed to have dual citizenship to enable the flow of foreign exchange into India. "If Israel and Pakistan have this facility—I think they have it—why cannot Indians overseas have it", she said.

The demand is one of the salient points of the manifesto of the Rashtriya Sanjay Manch, whose formation she announced today at a press conference. She claimed a membership of 800,000 and said that final figures would be known on April 3 when the Manch would hold its inaugural convention. The party flag is half white and half green with India's map in the centre in saffron. She was flanked by Mr. Maganbhai Barot, a former minister of state for finance, and Mr. Akbar Ahmed.

Asserting that she would contest the Lok Sabha seat from Amethi in 1985, "as a matter of principle, who-

ever is pitted against me". Mrs. Maneka Gandhi said in reply to a question on her present relationship with the prime minister that "this has nothing to do with the party."

In reply to another question whether she disowned the emergency when her late husband was a force to reckon with at that time, she said that while the objective of imposing the emergency was acceptable, things went wrong in the implementation of the programme because the press was not allowed to give a feedback. That is why she was now demanding full autonomy for Akashvani and Door-darshan.

She emphasised that the focus of her party would be on youth and employment. In fact, she demanded the setting up of a ministry for youth and employment, another for Harijan and tribal welfare, and a third for overseas Indians. Mr. Barot added that nearly £ ten million were available with overseas Indians for investment in India provided "dual citizenship" rights and some other concessions were given.

CSO: 4600/1922

GANDHI 22 MAR SPEECH TO POLICE MEETING REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 23 Mar 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has called for a high degree of vigilance, both official and by the people, against disruptive activities.

Addressing heads of central intelligence and police organisations on Tuesday, the Prime Minister said the utterances and activities of certain elements were in the interests of foreign powers inimical to the country.

In fact, she said, forces hostile to India had been making adverse propaganda abroad, and some of this propaganda was now being repeated within the country.

Threats to the country's security from within or abroad, she said, had to be seen in the context of international developments. "The more we succeed, the more will be the dangers to us, and greater the challenge", she added.

The country, Mrs. Gandhi declared, was capable of meeting any threat from abroad. No amount of military pressure could have any effect if the people remained united the Prime Minister stressed, denouncing attempts to weaken the country by dividing the people on lines of religion, caste or region.

Referring to criticism against New Delhi's hosting the seventh nonaligned summit Mrs Gandhi said India held the conference not for the sake of 'image' but as a tribute to the strength the nonaligned movement 'transmits' to developing countries.

'The NAM', she declared, "is important to us as a movement which is trying to solve the basic problems of economic development of the poorer nations".

Stressing the need for the police authorities to act in an important and disciplined manner, Mrs Gandhi referred to the National Integration Council's recommendations that officers in whose areas communal or caste riots took place should be immediately transferred and called upon to explain.

She also made it clear that the powers of the executive in these matters would not be allowed to be diluted by other considerations.

Mrs. Gandhi urged that discipline should be strictly enforced in the functioning of security forces.

"The police forces of the country should be the pride of the people in character, imagination, understanding, fairness and honesty".

In particular, she deprecated the tendency for police officials to get involved by taking sides in communal, caste, or other disturbances.

She was considering whether the Central Government could not take a more active interest in setting things right in any State police organisation in which weaknesses were detected, such as by way of sending advisers and taking up re-training of officers.

Mrs Gandhi emphasised the need to rectify imbalances in the recruitment patterns of the police forces so that adequate stress is given to induction of minority communities.

"In particular", she advised, "we should avoid posting individuals to sensitive areas whose functioning is likely to cause local tensions".

CSO: 4600/1912

GANDHI ANSWERS WORLD LEADER MESSAGES ON SUMMIT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Mar 83 p 7

[Text]

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has written to several world leaders including US President Ronald Reagan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Yuri Andropov, British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher and Pope John Paul on the outcome of the seventh non-aligned summit, reports PFI

Her letters, are in reply to the messages of good wishes sent by those leaders for the non-aligned summit which concluded here on 12 March.

In her letter to the Pope, Mrs Gandhi, who is the chairperson of the non-aligned movement, thanked his holiness for emphasising in his message on peace and goodwill and pointed out that for the first time the summit declaration had a separate section on disarmament, survival and co-existence in this age of nuclear weapons.

While thanking the other world leaders for their messages of good wishes, Mrs Gandhi pointed out that in such a large gathering of world leaders with different systems of Government, it was not easy to come to agreements, particularly in the present international situation marked by conflicts.

"Even so, this conference was of one mind on major issues facing international community namely peace, nuclear disarmament and development," she pointed out.

Among those Mrs Gandhi has written are Prime Minister of Japan Y Nakasone, President of Hungary

Pal Losonoz, Prime Minister of Hungary, Lazar Gyorgy, Prime Minister of Belgium Wilfred Masten, President of Brazil, Gen Baptista Figueiredo, Prime Minister of Spain Marquez, French President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister of Canada Pierre Trudeau, President of South Korea, Chun Doo Hwan, Prime Minister of China Zhao Ziang, Prime Minister of Italy, Fanfani, Polish leader Gen Jaruzelski, President of Mongolia Tseden Bai, GDR, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Eric Honecker, FRG Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, Czech President Husak, Prime Minister of Portugal Balsemao, Chancellor of Austria, Kreisky and President of Romania, Ceausescu.

Mrs Gandhi has also written separate letters to President of Indonesia Suharto, President of Ivory Coast Felix Houphouet and Commander of Upper Volta Jean Baptiste Ouédraogo stating that she had greatly missed their personal presence at the summit though their countries took part in it.

Mrs Gandhi will also write to leaders of the big powers requesting them to participate in the next UN General Assembly session for transforming it into a sort of world summit for taking note of the pressing problems facing mankind and take positive steps to halt the present drift towards a nuclear conflict and concentrate on peaceful development in a spirit of interdependence. Mrs Gandhi will attend the session.

MINISTRY DENIES REPORT ON AMBASSADOR TO U.S.

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Mar 83 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 28.

The External Affairs Ministry today denied that the Indian Ambassador, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, had given evidence before a U.S. Congressional committee on the killings in Assam.

An official spokeswoman told newsmen that there was "no question whatsoever of the Indian Ambassador appearing to give evidence before any congressional committee."

The Ambassador, however, had met some members of the U.S. Congress, she said. His report on this was awaited.

A newspaper report from Washington had said that Mr. Narayanan had been called by the Human Rights Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives on Friday and faced a barrage of questions on the Assam killings.

Mr. K. K. Tiwari, Congress (I) MP, today urged the Government to recall Mr. Narayanan.

In a statement issued in Delhi, he said Mr. Narayanan's action was unparalleled in the history of international diplomacy. It seemed to be a deliberate faux pas to provide a propaganda ploy to "Americans and their friends elsewhere" in their efforts to create conditions of destabilisation and subversion in India. — U.N.I.

CSO: 4600/1930

FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER'S STOPOVER IN DELHI REPORTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Mar 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 28.

The French Foreign Minister, Mr. Claude Cheysson, stopped over in Delhi for a few hours today, on his way from Bangkok to Islamabad, for talks with the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao on the recent non-aligned summit declarations.

As the first Western country to have openly welcomed some of the suggestions made in the New Delhi message, France is keen on establishing a better rapport with the non-aligned community in its quest for a more equitable international economic dispensation.

Mr. Narasimha Rao spelt out at some length what India, as Chairman of the non-aligned movement, proposed to do to enlist the support of the big powers in implementing some of the summit decisions. The French Foreign Minister, in turn, assured him of France's cooperation in tackling the major issues dealt with in the political and economic declarations, especially the plea for global negotiations.

It has been decided that India will be represented at the ministerial meeting of the Group of 77 in Buenos Aires commencing next week by both the External Affairs and Commerce Ministers to explain the many ideas spelt out in the economic action programme adopted by the summit and evolve an agreed strategy for facing the developed countries at UNCTAD-VI in June at Belgrade. The Indian delegation will be playing a pivotal role at this conference in carrying forward the spirit of the Delhi declarations since the great majority of this group are non-aligned nations.

Positive response: After the UNCTAD conference, the next important item on the non-aligned agenda is to persuade the big powers to respond to the summit appeal for a gathering of the world's statesmen in New York during the next U.N. Assembly session. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who suggested that the session should be attended by Heads of Government, has been heartened by the positive French response indicating that she could count on President Mitterrand's presence.

The suggestion was made by India to set the tone at the highest level and ensure wider participation in the proposed international conference on money and finance for development, besides the more immediate measures recommend for providing relief in areas of critical importance to the poorer nations. The Indian approach is to mobilise support first in Western Europe for this action programme before tackling the U.S. and also persuading the Soviet Union and China to fall in line to provide a truly universal dimension to this effort.

At the bilateral level, India would be interested to know about the outcome of Mr. Cheysson's visit to Pakistan. He had gone to Bangkok to participate in the ministerial meeting between EEC and ASEAN, and is spending three days in Pakistan on his way back home.

There has been a military supply relationship between France and Pakistan for the last 20 years starting with the sale of the earlier versions of Mirage aircraft, which was subsequently extended to the supply of various types of sophisticated missiles. At one stage Pakistan also tried to acquire from France a nuclear reactor which ran into difficulties over safeguards after the London suppliers group tightened up the rules.

The French Foreign Minister made no mention of the purpose of his visit to Islamabad during today's discussions. But India would follow closely the outcome of his trip to Pakistan to the extent that it might impinge on Indo-French bilateral relations.

An interesting feature of Indo-French relations is that the two countries hold fairly close views on Kampuchea with France refusing to recognise the coalition Government headed by Prince Sihanouk, unlike other Western powers which have openly identified themselves with it. The present French Government has also been maintaining cordial relations with Hanoi and it is not without significance that Mr. Cheysson has utilised the opportunity of his visit to Bangkok for the EEC-ASEAN meeting to make a side trip to Vietnam.

Hanoi's stand accepted: Mr. Cheysson had accepted with qualifications Hanoi's continued military occupation of Kampuchea. Reuter reports from Bangkok quoting Vietnam's official news agency VNA.

Mr. Cheysson, making the first official visit to Vietnam since Hanoi's December 1978 invasion of Kampuchea, told a press conference on Sunday that it was necessary to see the truth in Kampuchea.

"We do not wish the departure of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea so that the horrors of the Pol Pot time could be repeated", he said, according to the VNA report monitored in Bangkok.

COMMERCE MINISTER REPORTS ON JOINT VENTURES

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Apr 83 p 7

[Text] The concept of buy-back arrangement has been given a concrete shape for the first time with the setting up of an Indo-Senegal joint venture on fertiliser plant, reports UNI.

India is assured of a regular supply of 110,000 tonnes of phosphoric acid a year for 15 years from 1984-85 when the project is likely to be commissioned.

The Government, the Indian farmers Fertiliser Cooperative Limited and the Southern Petro-chemical Industries Corporation Limited are collaborating with the Government of Senegal for manufacturing phosphatic fertilisers and phosphoric acid.

At the end of December 1982, there were 233 joint venture proposals of which 140 were in production or operation and 93 under various stages of implementation.

Indian investments by way of equity share capital in the 140 joint ventures, which are currently reported to be in operation, has been effected mainly through exports of capital equipment and technology, with cash remittances playing only a supporting role.

According to the 1982-83 report of the Commerce Ministry, of the total 140 joint ventures in operation 93 or 66 per cent were engaged in manufacturing activities but they accounted for about 95 per cent of the total Indian investment by way of equity share capital.

Among the joint ventures that have become operational in the manufacturing sector, the maximum number was in the field of light engineering followed by textiles, the traditional fields in which Indian entrepreneurs have acquired certain degree of capability to compete in international market.

Other industries in which Indian joint ventures have been set up include chemicals and pharmaceuticals, palm oil refining, iron and steel products, paper, and glass.

In the non-manufacturing sector, the largest number was for trading and marketing followed by hotels and restaurants.

CSO: 4600/1980

NATIONAL POLICE PANEL RECOMMENDATIONS REPORTED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 31 Mar 83 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 30. The national police commission has recommended that the Police Act of 1861 should be replaced by a new act and necessary legislation initiated for the constitution of a central police committee.

Seven of the eight reports by the NPC were laid on the table of the Lok Sabha today. The first report, which was completed in 1980, was presented to the house on February 1 of that year.

Commenting on the reports, an official release said that the government had repudiated the conclusions of the commission for which it relied on the observations and findings of the Shah commission.

The release referred to certain portions, particularly of the second report of the commission, which pertain to alleged political interference in the administration and especially in the functioning of the police force and observed that they revealed a biased approach.

It said that the commission had been unduly critical of the political system and of the functioning of the police force in general. "Such general criticism is hardly in keeping with an objective and rational approach to problems and reveals a biased attitude. The government is of the view that no note should be taken of such observations".

Among the notable recommendations of the commission is the setting up of security commissions at the state level which should have an independent cell to evaluate police performance. The people should have the right to petition to the state security commission against the functioning of a senior police official like a station house officer.

In recommending the reorganisation of the police structure, the seventh report of the commission urged the strengthening of the police structure. It said the urban areas should have exclusive police stations, which should be more compact for accomplishing better results. It also emphasised the need for increasing the number of investigating officers.

New Arms Act

On controlling communal riots, the commission said in its sixth report that data pertaining to an area should be collected with great care and separate cells in the intelligence agencies at the district and state level should be earmarked for this.

In its fifth report, the commission recommended that recruitment to the police should be made only at two levels--the constable and the Indian Police Service. The minimum educational qualification and other requirements for recruitment as constables had been laid down.

Improvement in the quality of requirements, emoluments and career prospects of the IPS has also been recommended. Suggestions have been made regarding filling up of vacancies through limited competitive examinations and on a promotional basis.

The commission observed that a new arms act was needed. Stricter control should be exercised over the issue and renewal of arms licences.

It also recommended the setting up of a rural police force and urged that the police response to agitations on the agrarian front should be defined, especially in light of the fact that land reform measures so far implemented had not had the desired impact for the removal of inequalities.

It emphasised the need for a code of behaviour for police officers, discussing the issue in great detail.

CSO: 4600/1977

FINANCE, TRADE MINISTERS ADDRESS ENGINEERS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 31 Mar 83 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 30. Two senior Union ministers today strongly defended the industrial and fiscal policies of the government and advised industry to put its own house in order by improving capacity utilisation and speeding up modernisation.

The finance minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, told the annual session of the Association of Indian Engineering Industry that the series of steps taken by the government to liberalise policies and offer incentives should be reflected in higher growth rate.

The finance minister said that conditions for a higher rate of industrial growth in 1983-84 were favourable. The plan investment had been increased, raw materials made available and credit policies liberalised. The import and licensing policies were conducive to further expansion, fuller utilisation of capacity and modernisation.

Export Incentives

Mr. Mukherjee wanted the industry to improve its export performance and cautioned against the misuse of incentives for exports.

Mr. Mukherjee wondered whether the present liberalised import policy should not be reviewed since the industry had failed to take advantage of this policy and show results on the export front.

The finance minister was also quite blunt in his criticism of the attempts by certain sections in industry who delayed payment of taxes by resorting to legal proceedings.

This effected revenue inflow and currently a sum of about Rs. 1,500 crores was blocked because of such cases, the finance minister said.

He ridiculed the plea that payment of some tax hampered dynamism, efficiency and growth. This could not be so unless the contention was that in order to grow, Indian industry required zero tax levels, Mr. Mukherjee said, and added that this position was simply not acceptable or sustainable.

The industry minister, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, who addressed the afternoon session, regretted that the Indian engineering industry had failed to grasp the new opportunities provided by the country's oil and gas programme.

"Unfortunately, little has been done up to now and much of the business has to be awarded to parties outside the country," Mr. Tiwari said. The government was providing all due encouragement and assistance to the Indian engineering companies to enter into this vital sector.

Mr. Tiwari said that the industry's performance in exploiting the opportunities in the world market had not been encouraging. He drew the industry's attention to numerous projects being funded by multilateral financing agencies and banks all over the world.

The industry minister said that no government could do away with controls since there would be anarchy if industrial development was not regulated.

Referring to a suggestion made by the AIEI vice-president, Mr. M. V. Subbiah, the industry minister said it would be considered whether the ceiling up to which no licence is required could be raised beyond Rs. 3 crores. However, he added that the licensing policy and procedure was used by the government to regulate industrialisation and to ensure balanced regional development.

Tax Policy

Earlier, the AIEI president, Mr. Vinod L. Doshi, said that a concept of selectivity should be adopted with regard to taxation policy for profit-making companies and export promotion expenditure.

Mr. Doshi also pleaded for the continuation of the liberal import policy and said that there was no alternative to the import of technology by paying the international price for it.

He also sought a review of the price increases on import duties which were making Indian products uncompetitive.

CSO: 4600/1977

INDIAN, GREEK OFFICIALS CONFER ON TRADE PROSPECTS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 31 Mar 83 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 30: India has urged Greece, the next chairman of the European Economic Community, to use its good offices to secure for India improved access for its tobacco and sugar in the community markets and also access to funds of the Euro investment bank.

Wide-ranging talks were held here today with the visiting Greek delegation led by Mr. Karales Papoulias, under secretary of state for foreign affairs. The Indian side was led by Mr. Romesh Bhandari, secretary, economic relations, in the ministry of external affairs.

Mr. Papoulias earlier called on the external affairs minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao. He congratulated India on the success of the non-aligned summit and said that while Greece was a member of the NATO alliance, its views were similar to the policies of the non-aligned movement.

At the inconclusive talks between the two delegations it was stated that an agreement on trade and technology co-operation between India and Greece would be signed when the Indian commerce minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, visits Greece in the near future.

The Greek side said that by that time a feasibility report would be ready on the proposed joint project to manufacture jeeps involving an Indian company. Fisheries was identified as another significant area in which the two countries could collaborate with each other.

Mr. Bhandari said the Greek shipping companies could benefit from the services of the Indian seamen. There was a reference to the complaints regarding low wages but it was felt that these were being dealt with satisfactorily by the two sides.

The bilateral talks also covered international issues such as Lebanon, the Iran-Iraq war and also the relations of Greece with Turkey and the Cyprus issue.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been invited by the Greek prime minister to visit Greece and Mr. Narasimha Rao received a similar invitation from his counterpart, Mr. Andrea Papandreou.

CSO: 4600/1977

RAJIV GANDHI RULES OUT DIVISION OF CHANDIGARH

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 28 (UNI)--Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Congress(I) general secretary, today rules out the possibility of division of Chandigarh as a solution to the Punjab crisis.

Addressing a congregation at Sri Hargobind Sar gurdwara on the G. T.-Karnal Road, he said Chandigarh was one of the most beautiful cities in the world and its division would mar its beauty and charm.

Mr. Gandhi, however, said the government, which had already conceded the Akalis' religious demands, was trying to settle amicably their remaining two demands--allocation of Ravi-Beas waters and territorial claims.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said these political demands concerned not only the Akalis but all Punjabis, including Hindus.

He deplored that the Akalis were mixing religion with politics.

Referring to the demand for relaying Gurbani from the Golden Temple through AIR, he said the government machinery moved to start the broadcast, but the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) was yet to give clearance for it.

He said the government was trying to find a solution to the Ravi-Beas and territorial issues that would not jeopardise the interests of the states concerned.

"Emulate Sikhs"

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi commended the contribution of Sikhs to the development of India. The Sikhs, he said, had made a name for themselves not only in India but all over the world by their hard labour and earning their bread with dignity.

"If the people all over India follow the steps of Sikhs the pace of the country's development could be faster," he said.

Mr. Buta Singh, parliamentary affairs and housing minister, expressed concern over the recent incidents of violence in Punjab and alleged that extremists and anti-social elements were being provided shelter in religious places.

He repudiated the Akalis claim that they represented the whole Sikh panth. "On the contrary, the Akalis are helping those forces which are indulging in divisive activities," he said.

CSO: 4600/1975

MANPOWER AID TO DEVELOPING NATIONS DESCRIBED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Mar 83 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 28: India, as the leading third world country with a skilled manpower reserve, was able to send 462 experts in various fields to 32 developing nations during the past one year.

India's ability to provide skills in various disciplines as its contribution to South-South co-operation was emphasised at the recent New Delhi non-aligned summit. It is expected that India will now be called upon to send more experts to the developing countries.

During the year, India sent 679 experts on assignments with the U. N. and its allied agencies. Standing rosters of qualified experts are being maintained by the personnel department of the home ministry.

The department is concentrating its efforts on increasing the quantum of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe personnel in different administrative services.

The percentage of the scheduled caste representation in the class I and II services is still below the desired level, though in absolute terms it has grown four to six times.

The representation of SCs and STs in the IAS and IPS is somewhat better. It is more than 10 per cent as far as the SCs are concerned and five and three per cent in the two services, respectively. In the case of STs, the representation of these two communities in group A services is 5.37 per cent and 1.16 per cent, respectively.

The department claims that through special effort the backlog is being made up. Recent recruitment to the all-India services show that almost all vacancies reserved for the scheduled castes and tribes are being filled.

As a special effort, a limited departmental examination was held in April last year for filling the reserved vacancies in grade I of the Central secretariat service. Altogether 33 individuals belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes were appointed to grade I posts.

Among the welfare measures adopted was to exempt the widows of deceased government servants, appointed as peons on compassionate grounds, from the minimum educational qualification prescribed for the post.

It has also been decided to extend the Central government employees group insurance scheme to members of all-India services.

CSO: 4600/1975

CORRESPONDENT TELLS OF 'INCALCULABLE' DAMAGE IN ASSAM

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Mar 83 p 9

[Article by S. Gurudev]

[Text] **SIXTEEN** hundred bridges and culverts will have to be rebuilt in Assam at a cost of Rs 5 crores. But more important, and incalculable, are the shattered human "links". Will violence flare up again? Even optimists speak of a tenuous peace. The massacres at Nellie and Gohpur overshadowed the unbelievable destruction of paddy and vandalism in Nowgong and Darrang districts.

Apart from a bleak Rongali Bihu in April, the lower Brahmaputra valley will face acute scarcity conditions in the coming months, affecting the purchasing power of small and marginal farmers. The paddy burnt in Gohpur and Soota is estimated at Rs 60 lakhs. One can imagine the damage in Nowgong, the granary of the State. Tragic indeed since the last sari crop was a bumper harvest. How much of the paddy escaped destruction would depend upon how much was buried by the fleeing villagers.

The authorities claim to have built up stocks but the distribution in Darrang and Nowgong districts is poor. Straining a rickety public distribution system with periodic bandhs and "non-cooperation" is not advisable. Tilling in the affected areas is four weeks behind schedule. Ahu prospects are dismal. In Goreswar, those who presumably returned to their villages lack farm instruments and bullocks, according to available reports. The arson-affected villages south of the railway line include Silkijhar, Hajalpara and Rampur and north of it Ramgaon. The attackers from Mangaldai sub-division across a rivulet were Boro Kacharis and their Vlashavite cousins, the Sarantyas (the latter was active in the Khairabari sector).

RICE RATION

Increasing the rice ration for adults in the camps from 400 to 600 grams and for children from 250 to 400 grams is not enough. Other inputs are necessary but there is little or no evidence of relief materials, not to speak of CI

sheets and cash doles, at Khairabari beyond Tanga or Bakulguri in Nowgong district. A small quantum of CI sheets was distributed in the Goreswar area and Samaguri where the "Pioneers" are rebuilding houses though hampered by a lack of materials which are to be provided by the district authorities.

(The Pioneers are part of the peace-keeping battalions of the CRP, including doctors and fire-fighting elements with special stores and equipment, signals and transport. Units of the Hyderabad and Durgapur battalions are functioning in the Duranigudem-Samaguri area. The mobile medical camps have helped to project an acceptable image of the force with the Assamese. In fact, the numerous banners "welcoming the noble Indian Army" were meant to express genuine relief.)

Rehabilitating the farmer is a must but fear persists and sporadic violence is enough to ensure an exodus. In Assam today, violence begets swift reprisals. The Mosaic law has a multiplier effect. The killings at Panchmile village near Tezpur and the Panpur ferry recall a familiar pattern since the New Year. Fairly large sections of refugees, barring those at Khairabari, have returned to their villages in Darrang district but a spark here or a killing there can set it off. Ties are being rebuilt but the violent factions are causing problems for the moderates in the movement.

PLATOON POSTS

The BSF has platoon posts in places like Jhami, Jahamari, Soota school, Teliagaon, etc. in Darrang, but they are not adequate. The eastern limit of the Gohpur reserved forest needs more armed cover to protect sensitive pockets and act as a buffer. Sonapur is a nodal point: the villagers of Simlaguri and Rangajan would welcome a post there. In Soota, more posts are needed to prevent attacks. Certain villages in the Tezpur area are vulnerable, situated as they are in a compact tribal belt.

One of the Chief Minister, Mr Hiteswar Saikia's first steps was to assign a district to each of the Inspectors-General to determine the necessary security cover. Even a "non-professional" can see that the BSF and CRP units will have to be maintained, re-located and augmented, if need be, to ensure an inter-locking system for the better part of the year. Ad hoc decisions will be disastrous, particularly with early pre-monsoon showers. Resettlement will have to be total since death awaits those returning in small groups. Six people from Khairabari were murdered when they apparently strayed beyond the protective limit. Khairabari is a case study of the cult of violence to reshape or "homogenise" demographic belts with enclaves of "outsiders" or non-indigenous people.

"REFUGEEPARA"

The old Rajbhansi zamindars had their Muslim tenants under a system known as "nospikara". They fled during the communal violence of 1947-48 and the area was settled by Hindu immigrants from Mysore which explains why the tribals refer to it as "refugee-para". Madhav Pal and Mati Pal were bred there and became affluent through industry. All that remains of their rice mill and brick structures are charred skeletons. The arson-belt stretches from Bheragaon. Twelve thousand refugees are in two camps, one guarded by the BSF and the other at the railway station by the CRP. Those who could afford a train ticket did so and landed in North Bengal.

Chowkhowa illustrates the new concepts of lebensraum and ethnic pressure which immigrants will have to face to survive. It is a fertile area farmed by immigrants but surrounded by fairly big Assamese villages, as like Rangamati and Borkhuti. The killings in mid-February were organized and led to retaliation at Dhuli and nearby villages. The Muslim immigrants are back to Chowkhowa but things will never be the same, says a senior official.

Bakuluri in Nowgong district has its message. One has to take the longer route via Dibraka and Hojai since a wooden bridge over the Kottli is damaged. The affected villages are scattered along the river from Padumani, where the Muslims were the victims, to Bakuluri, one of the largest and richest of Assamese Hindu villages. The lush vegetation is ideal to cover violence and there is a clear divide between the two linguistic groups. Bakuluri is remote and isolated during the monsoon. Neither of the groups will return to their villages without extensive security cover. Furthermore the role of the tribals is not clear. Were they neutral?

VARIABLE ROLE

Dhing illustrates the variable role of criminals operating with impunity from their "sanctuaries". The mercenaries from the "bad lands", Assam's Chumbal, are a factor during communal violence. They exploit the administrative and jurisdictional anomalies. A cluster of villages like Rowmani, Parni, Udhantola, Patipathar and Lallipathar are known "dens". Further north is a thinly populated, forbidding area which knows no law. Police personnel are not known to have gone beyond the peripheral villages. Curiously enough, some of the villages are under Ropohihat thana but the civil jurisdiction is exercised from Dhing. If crime is to be investigated, a police party will have to reach Silghat by ferry from Tezpur and proceed to Dhing by road, a journey of six hours or more. The dacoits, who are also poachers, are believed to have shot dead 25 rhinos in the past three months.

Less notorious is Bhakatzon with its "nests" of alleged Hindu militants, Leftists, "OBC" and dangerous elements. Raiding this is another hotbed: The CRP had no end of trouble with these villages astride the main Nowgong-Dhing road via Hojai. Ten days ago, four wayfarers "disappeared" and retaliation led to tension along an arterial road. In fact, people of one community avoid the other's belt while travelling in sensitive stretches.

SWEAT AND TOIL

Bayagaon is a trend-setter for the Assamese Hindus. Affluence was underwritten by the sweat and toil of the immigrant labour in Samaguri but the night of the long knives changed everything. Faith in the immigrants was shattered. Assamese landlords will have to mechanize farming and till their land but that would leave their former tenants high and dry. Further conflict is likely.

And that brings one to the evident and not-so-evident forces of violence, agents provocateurs and extremists. The rural Assamese community either underwent a radical change in the New Year or.

as one Assamese intellectual puts it, the "militant rural youth was the backbone of the movement". Towards the end of January, a crowd wanted to burn a bridge at Narikali but was dispersed by two policemen firing four rounds in the air.

The former Adviser, Mr. R. V. Subramaniam, and his experts based their conclusions prior to the elections on such predictable reactions. But things went awry; the same bridge was burnt later despite the police firing. A determined crowd burnt down the Patharighat police post as a "symbolic protest" against the elections being held. One cannot condone the dereliction of duty by policemen but the circumstances are worth recalling. The crowd helped the policemen remove their weapons, personal belongings and official records before the post was set on fire. They even built temporary bamboo structures for the policemen to spend the night. Days later, "miscreants" shot dead a sub-inspector of police at Deputa within the range of an Army Signals unit.

"NEW ORDER"

Observers regard February as the dawn of a resurgent Assam. If that were so, the "new order" with its reprisals and elimination of "betrayers", such as the man who was stabbed to death in Tezpur hospital, are a far cry from Sankardeva's bhakti cult and nam kirtana. It could perhaps resemble Meitei revivalism in the early stages. But the Meiteis have Sanamah, the traditional deity of every household co-existing with Krishna worship. But the indigenous Assamese have never looked back to an earlier pantheon after the Ahoms rulers were Hinduized. It is this background and a common heritage which makes the movement leaders deny secession or disruption of ties with the mainland.

Nevertheless, urban terrorism and shades of insurgency can be overlooked only at one's peril. There are secessionist elements. Organizations like the Hengdang SSB (Sessa Seva Bahini) or the Assamese PLA with its HQ in Darrang district are not fictitious. Selective murders and the modus operandi attest training, motivation and functional intelligence. The murder of the Chief Minister's nephew or the attempt on the new Deputy Commissioner of Darrang cannot happen overnight. They indicate the presence of killers who take decisions on the spot. The tendency among magistrates and the judiciary to grant bail liberally frustrates proper interrogation and investigation, say police officers.

FANATICAL MOBS

The Assam police is under fire. The religious and linguistic minorities allege that the force was unreliable, partisan and involved

in mob violence (a khaki uniform, however, is not the monopoly of the force). A distinction must be drawn between the district police and the AP battalions, some of which were raised not so long ago and lacked, perhaps, the discipline, traditions and pride of older units. Whereas the Assamese are gradually losing their fear of the CRP, the minorities swear by it. Over-used during President's Rule and stretched to the limit by fanatical mobs during the elections, the force is utterly exhausted. Apart from the cost of maintenance, roughly a crore per battalion yearly, which has to be borne by the State, the bulk of the force will have to leave Assam sooner or later.

The new Government apparently will try to rectify the unstated bias against recruiting Muslims to the Services or police since Independence. The cure, however, is not that simple. Land alienation and ethnic propensities are at the bottom of it. Take Nellie. The Lalung were "Hinduized" long ago; the older converts were known as Bor Koch and the more recent ones Saru Koch. There are about 200,000 Lalungs in the Jagirad area, with pockets in Karbi Anglong and the Khasi hills.

PIONEERING SPIRIT

Till the twenties, they and a few lower castes inhabited even low-lying areas like Ropohihat. Then came the immigrants with their pioneering spirit and better farming methods, particularly wet cultivation. Apart from occupying Government or khas land under the then "grow more food" campaign, they overran the professional and village grazing reserves. They clashed with the new settlers over the decades but a significant development in the 60s was the coming of Rightist Hindu elements and their activities in the Morigaon-Dhandua area.

Fears about foreign involvement have surfaced. But a helicopter rumoured to have landed Razakars somewhere in Nowgong turned out to be a "two-seater" with a high official who was surveying the extent of arson. Yet the limitations of the Special Bureau have become pronounced, due partly to the polarization over the election issue. The polarization brought about a remarkable change of attitude among sizable sections of the population like the Bodos and Ahoms who were not among the outspoken supporters of the movement. Opposition to the elections even extended to immigrants who warned their parent Congress (I).

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT INEFFECTIVE AGAINST CASTE BARRIERS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 31 Mar 83 p 23

[Text] Jaipur, March 30. Untouchability continues unabated in the rural and backward areas of the country notwithstanding the enactment, six years ago of the Civil Rights Act providing for enhanced and stringent punishment for offences arising out of this social evil.

The prevalence of untouchability in large parts of the country was revealed by an all-India survey conducted by the all-India Harijan Sevak Sangh in 12 states of the country some time ago. The findings have been confirmed by the commissioner for scheduled castes and tribes in his latest report presented in the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha here last week-end.

In Andhra Pradesh, out of a total of 60 villages surveyed in three blocks, wells, temples and hotels were not open to the scheduled castes in 17, 16 and 14 villages respectively. The services of washermen and barbers were not available to them in 48 and 18 villages respectively.

It was observed that the practice of untouchability was more rampant in the surveyed villages in the Anantpur block in Anantpur district compared to the other two blocks. In each of the 20 surveyed villages in Nadigama and Tirvur blocks in Krishna district, washermen did not wash the clothes of the scheduled castes.

In Gujarat, out of a total of 141 villages surveyed in three blocks, wells, temples and hotels were not open to Harijans in 89, 130 and 126 villages respectively. The services of barbers and washermen were not available to them in 130 villages.

It was observed that the practice of untouchability was rampant in all the three blocks although the panchayats were involved in the programme for removal of this social evil.

In Himachal

Temples and hotels were not open to the scheduled castes in 49 of the 51 villages surveyed in the Shilli block of Sirmaur district of Himachal Pradesh. It was observed that the scheduled caste panches were not consulted by other

panches in the panchayat meetings. Bonded labour was prevalent but on account of their weak economic position, the bonded labourers did not come forward for their release.

In all the 100 villages surveyed in two blocks in Karnataka, wells, temples and hotels were not open to the scheduled castes. Services of barbers and washermen were not available to them in 99 villages. In 14 villages in the Gulbarga block of Gulbarga district, scheduled caste panches did not enjoy equal status and there was very little co-operation of public and private organisations and individuals in the removal of untouchability.

In Kerala, out of a total of 68 villages surveyed in Kasaragod block of Cannanore district, temples were not open to Harijans in any of the villages.

Out of a total of 61 villages surveyed in two blocks of Maharashtra, wells, temples and hotels were not open to the scheduled castes in 29, 26 and four villages respectively. The services of washermen were not available to them in 17 villages of the Shergaon block in Ahmednagar district. But it was observed that the scheduled caste panches enjoyed equal status at the panchayat meetings.

In Madhya Pradesh, untouchability was prevalent in all its severity. Out of a total of 199 villages surveyed in two blocks, wells, temples and hotels were not open to the scheduled castes in 92 and 95 villages respectively. The services of washermen and barbers were not available to them in 145 and 127 villages respectively.

Scheduled caste panches did not enjoy equal status in all the 50 surveyed villages of the Dangargarh block in Rajnandangaon district, 30 villages of the Bada Malhara block in Chhatarpur district and three villages of the Tarana block in Ujjain district.

Wells, temples and hotels were not open to Harijans in any of the 50 villages surveyed in the Khallikote block of Ganjam district in Orissa. The services of washermen and barbers were not available to them in 49 of the 50 villages surveyed.

In Haryana, of the 44 villages surveyed in one block, wells and temples were not open to Harijans in seven and 23 villages respectively. No other kind of social disability was reported in the sample villages of the Samalkha block of Karnal district. It was reported that the Harijan panches enjoyed equal status at panchayat meetings.

In Rajasthan

Wells and temples were not open to the scheduled castes in 60 and 63 villages respectively out of 75 villages surveyed in two blocks of Rajasthan. In the surveyed villages of the Ladnu block in Churu district, the scheduled caste panches enjoyed equal status at panchayat meetings. The practice of untouchability in the surveyed villages of the Bayana block in Bharatpur district was more rampant. Harijans there were even barred from riding horses.

In Tamil Nadu, the practice of untouchability was prevalent in all the sample villages. Of 148 villages surveyed in three blocks, wells, temples and hotels were not open to Harijans in 115, 136 and 36 villages respectively.

The practice of untouchability was more intense in the Madurai East block of Madurai district compared to the two other blocks of the 72 surveyed villages in the block, wells and temples were not open to the scheduled castes and the services of washermen and barbers were not available to them in 72 and 50 villages respectively. Besides, the scheduled caste panches did not enjoy equal status in all the 72 villages.

Of the 170 villages surveyed in four blocks of U. P., wells, temples and hotels were not open to the scheduled castes in 55, 87 and 113 villages respectively. The services on washermen were not available to them in 63 villages. Persons belonging to the scheduled castes were not allowed to ride horses and use palanquins and the Harijan panches did not enjoy equal status in the panchayat meetings.

CSO: 4600/1977

MINISTER TELLS OF PLAN OUTLAY, INCREASES

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 31 Mar 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] New Delhi, March 30.--The Centre has decided to grant additional Plan assistance of Rs 1,650 crores to the States for the last two years (1983 to 1985) of the Sixth Plan.

This was stated by the Planning Minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, in the Lok Sabha in a written reply today. He said the total plan assistance to the States had risen from Rs 15,350 crores to Rs 17,000 crores.

Mr Chavan told Mr Brijmohan Mohanty (Cong-I) that the Centre had also decided to allow all the States a 20% step-up in the market borrowing programme in 1983-84 fiscal year as compared to the public borrowing in 1982-83 instead of the 10% annual step-up, envisaged in the original scheme of financing the Sixth Plan.

The Minister added that a medium term of Rs 1,743 crores was made available to the Finance Ministry to meet the deficits of the States at the end of 1981-82.

Mr Chavan said no proposals were invited nor received from the State Governments or Union Territories for the enhancement of their Sixth Plan outlay following the mid-term appraisal of the plan. However, after the Fifth Plan was finalized, some States had asked for higher Central assistance and market borrowings to augment their resources for the annual plans.

The Minister told Mr Chitta Basu (Forward Bloc) that there was no "pre-determined" average percentage increase of the national plan. Inclusive of the outlay of Assam as finally approved on March 17, 1983, the increase in the plan outlay of all the States for 1983-84 over the corresponding outlay for 1982-83 was 16.7%. In the case of eastern and northeastern States, the increase ranged from 10% to 22%.

Mr Chavan said that for 1983-84, the annual plans of all the States had been determined with reference to estimates of the States' own resources and Central assistance worked out on the basis of uniform and objective criteria. "In the case of certain States, advance plan assistance is being made available to enable them to have plans of a reasonable size".

The Minister told Mr Virdhi Chander Jain (Cong-I) that the hill area development programme and the desert development programme had their own importance with regard to "specific" areas. Accordingly, both the programmes found mention in the Sixth Plan document.

Mr Chavan said there had been a "reasonable step-up" from the Fifth Plan outlay of Rs 170 crores to Rs 560 crores in the Sixth Plan for development of hill areas. Similarly, the Sixth Plan figure of Rs 50 crores for desert development programme represented a reasonable increase considering that expenditure on this programme from 1977-78 (when it was launched) to 1978-80 was only Rs 23.21 crores.

Mr Chavan informed Prof Rup Chand Pal (CPI-M) that in 1984-85 the Sixth Plan envisaged a target for domestic savings of Rs 35,870 crores at 1979-80 prices. The aggregate for the plan period was Rs 1,49,647 crores. As a percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP) at market prices the savings rate had been envisaged to increase from 21.2 in 1979-80 to 24.5 in 1984-85, he said, adding that the domestic savings, at current prices, grew from Rs 28,086 crores in 1980-81 to Rs 33,627 crores in 1981-82. The corresponding ratios to GDP, at market prices, worked out to 21.9% in 1980-81 and 22.8% in 1981-82, he said.

Mr Chavan told Mr A. K. Roy (unattached) that available data on national and per capita income did not support the conclusion that the rich States were becoming richer and the poor poorer, accentuating regional disparities in income. The problem of regional disparities was sought to be tackled in the Sixth Plan through various measures, he said.

Mr Chavan said that the growth rate of the gross national product (GNP) at 1970-71 prices was 8% in 1980-81 and 5.2% in 1981-82.

He added that an overall idea of the growth rate of wages and profits could be had from the data on income pertaining to "compensation to employees" and "profits and dividends" (for the organized sector only) and forming part of the national accounts statistics (NAS). The latest available data were for 1980-81. The growth rate in 1980-81 at current prices, worked out to 16.6% for "compensation to employees" and 8.5% for "profits and dividends".

The Minister told Mr Rasheed Masood, and Mr B. D. Singh, both Lok Dal, that the Government had been reviewing policies for the industrial development of backward rural areas and the steps taken to accelerate the pace of rural development includes strengthening of the organizational setup at district and block levels, setting up of State-level monitoring cells and a constant review of performance of the programmes at the central level by the Rural Development Ministry.

CSO: 4600/1978

CORRESPONDENT SAYS ARKHIPOV MAY SOON VISIT INDIA

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Mar 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by Vinod Taksal]

[Text]

MOSCOW, March 27 — Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Ivan Arkhipov is likely to visit India in four weeks' time for bilateral political consultations and economic discussions.

According to reliable sources here, Mr Arkhipov may visit New Delhi by 10 April. His visit will be preceded by a meeting of the Review Monitoring Group of the Indo-Soviet Joint Commission.

Mr Arkhipov, who with External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao, is co-chairman of the Joint Commission, will utilise the opportunity to meet Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and review the international, political atmosphere and regional situation.

The monitoring group, a permanent body of the Joint Commission, meets midway between two sessions of the commission and reviews implementation of the Joint Commission decisions and bilateral protocols on various projects.

The high point of the monitoring group meeting would be dis-

cussions on Soviet assistance to India in setting up a high-capacity nuclear power station, a project that had been mutually cleared during Mrs Gandhi's state visit here last September.

The Soviet Union then had offered to set up a thousand megawatt nuclear power station, two and a half times bigger than US-aided Tarapore plant. But the offer has now been modified to two units of 440 MW each in view of its suitability to India's transmission, absorption and utilisation capacities, issues of supply of equipment as well as of Soviet credits and related terms will be taken up during the monitoring group's discussions, it is learnt.

The group will also review the progress so far in setting up the Vizag steel plant, whose first phase is to be completed by next year. Construction of the plant was launched in February last year, and sources here have expressed confidence that the plant would go into operation as scheduled.

Deliveries of Soviet equipment and systems for the plant have been as per schedule and the

plant will start producing 1.8 million tonnes of steel by the end of next year, sources said. Any delays and hitches will be promptly sorted out, they added.

The group will also review the working of the joint project on the Vaidhan super thermal power station, which when completed is to produce 1,200 MW of electricity. The Soviet Union is also to lay 900 kms of 440 KV transmission lines for the plant.

Discussions will also be held on speeding up work on Nigahi open cast coalmines, the project open cast coal mines, the project which has been dovetailed with the Vaidhan power station.

An important area of review will be bilateral trade between India and the Soviet Union which the Joint Commission had targeted to touch Rs 3,500 crores turnover during 1983, registering a 15 per cent increase over the 1982 level.

The Soviet team for the monitoring group's discussions is being led by Soviet Planning Commission's First Deputy Chairman N N Inozretsev.

CSO: 4600/1928

CPI LEADER MAKES STATEMENT ON PUNJAB SITUATION

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 22 Mar 83 p 7

[Text] The Communist Party of India has expressed serious concern over the sharp rise in violent actions by the Punjab extremists and urged Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to take fresh initiatives for a just solution of the Punjab tangle without further delay.

In a statement in New Delhi on Tuesday CPI National Council secretary N K Krishnan pointed to the Punjab extremists, role in stepping up violent activities by "taking advantage of the deadlock in the Centre-Akali talks."

"It is regrettable that responsible Akali leaders have failed to come out firmly and sharply against these activities of the extremists. We deplore the fact that Sant Longowal has reduced the whole issue to a matter of police violence against religious-minded Sikhs," the statement read. "It is high time that the Akali leaders realised that the misuse of gurdwaras by the extremists led by Sant Bhindranwale is creating a very serious situation in Punjab and is bound to set an evil example throughout the country," the statement added.

Calling upon the Akali leadership to do everything possible to help initiate steps leading to a negotiated settlement, Mr Krishnan appealed to the Akali leaders to come out firmly against the extremist activities that endangered the cause of national unity.

On behalf of the party he further appealed to all sections of people in Punjab to be vigilant against the activities of "all disruptive and divisive forces and defend communal peace and amity, vigorously" in the present situation.

CSO: 4600/1910

TEXT OF RAO STATEMENT ON ENVOY-CONGRESSMEN MEETING

BK020935 Delhi ISI Diplomatic Information Service in English 0832 GMT
2 Apr 83

[Text] Minister of External Affairs P. V. Narasimha Rao made the following statement in Lok Sabha on March 31 regarding press reports that the Indian ambassador in Washington appeared to give evidence before a committee of U.S. Congress:

"Honourable members would have seen press reports in the TIMES OF INDIA on March 28 suggesting that our ambassador in Washington had appeared before the Human Rights Subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives. However, as our ambassador has himself pointed out, no ambassador can, or will, appear before a committee of a foreign legislature. Our ambassador has informed us that there has been no such meeting and he did not meet any committee even informally.

The ambassador did meet informally, a few members of the Congress, together with some congressional aides on the Capitol Hill on March 24. He was accompanied by some officials of the embassy. Of the five congressmen present, only one, Levine of California, belonged to the International Organisation and Human Rights Subcommittee.

The other congressmen who met the ambassador were Stephen Solarz, Ted Weiss, Marvyn Dymally and Crockett, all belonging to the Foreign Relations Committee or its Asian and Pacific Relations Subcommittee.

It is common practice in Washington for an ambassador to meet congressmen to discuss with them and give them background information as also factual account about matters of current interest. Our ambassador has accordingly been meeting congressmen informally, on appropriate occasions, to brief them about Indian policies and developments. For example, when the arms package to Pakistan was under discussion in the Congress, he discussed India's stand on the matter with congressmen at Capital Hill.

Such formal discussions are also held sometimes when important official visitors come from India. As a matter of fact, we ourselves furnish background information on important issues to all our ambassadors in order that they could have such discussions and report back to us the reactions of those with whom they hold such discussions.

At the meeting on 24 March, the ambassador gave the congressmen present, a description of the historical background to the Assam problem, the developments that took place in Assam and the steps taken by the government. Naturally, he also answered questions asked by congressmen and congressional aides.

A perfectly legitimate, normal and necessary activity by our ambassador in Washington has appeared in THE TIMES OF INDIA in a manner contrary to facts. I am, therefore, placing the facts before the house to obviate any speculation or doubt.

9459

CSO: 4600/1933

STATISTICS ON 1982-1983 ECONOMY SHOW ZERO GROWTH

BK230721 Hong Kong AFP in English 0657 GMT 23 Mar 83

[Report by Joel Henri]

[Text] New Delhi, 22 Mar (AFP)--Following a record performance in the 1981-82 fiscal year, India's economy cooled in the last 12 months with zero growth in gross national product (GNP) and significantly reduced growth in the industrial sector, statistics showed today.

The figures for the fiscal year ending this March 31 also showed a seven percent drop in agricultural production as compared with a six percent increase the year before.

The country's economic profile contrasted with its showing in 1981-82 when it registered a 13 percent hike in GNP compared with the preceding fiscal year to reach 149 billion dollars. Per capita annual income jumped to 216 dollars, up from 204 in 1978-79.

But the 1982-83 performance produced zero growth in GNP and an industrial growth of five percent as opposed to the 8.6 percent recorded the previous 12 months.

The lagging industrial production was attributable to strikes and delays in energy production.

The 1982-83 period was to have been "production year" in India, but the country saw a loss of 87 million work days, mostly in the textile industry plagued by a 15-month strike. The year before a total of 32.7 million days was lost.

Electricity production was reduced by anywhere from 20 to 100 percent in parts of India's nine industrialized states, principally Maharashtra where Bombay is located and West Bengal where Calcutta is situated.

Still, prices remained stable in 1982-83, rising only 2.6 percent as compared to 8.7 percent the preceding year.

India's balance of payments deficit was 6.3 billion dollars, down slightly from the 6.4 billion in 1981-82 with the improvement due to exports of Indian crude oil and cuts in imports of chemical fertilizers. Overall, exports reached 16 billion dollars and imports 9.7 billion.

Monetary reserves were 4.3 billion dollars last December, a small drop from the 5.5 billion on hand on March 31, 1982, despite India's move to draw 1.2 billion of the five billion dollar loan agreed to by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in November 1981. The reserves represent three months of imports.

Debt service amounted to 1.49 billion dollars in 1982-83, up 220 million from the year before, and was expected to reach 1.82 billion dollars in 1984 taking into account interest due to the IMF.

The value of India's currency, calculated on the basis of a basket of foreign currencies, lost 6.2 percent against the dollar in 1982-83 but was revalued upward by 10 percent against the pound sterling.

Grain production was expected to hit 124 million tons this last fiscal year against 133.1 million tons in 1981-82 for a 6.8 percent drop due largely to climatic variables in the monsoon cycle.

The production of vegetable oils was projected at 13.8 million tons for 1982-83 against 15.4 million tons the year before, and sugar output was expected to reach 170 million tons, 5.6 percent down from 1981-82.

Jute production was estimated at 6.5 million bales (180 kg or 396 pounds) against 8.4 million bales the preceding 12 months. Cotton output was expected to hit eight million bales (170 kg) against a previous 8.2 million.

India will have to import 3.95 million tons of grain from the United States at a cost of 654 million dollars as well as another three million to four million tons in 1983-84 to keep its reserve stock at 20 million tons.

It will also have to import 1.2 million tons of vegetable oils and 1.7 million tons of chemical fertilizer against two million last year.

9459

CSO: 4600/1933

INTEREST IN CONCEPT OF REGIONAL COOPERATION GROWS

Madras THE HINDU in English 31 Mar 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 30.

The Foreign Ministers' meeting of the South Asia seven — India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives — has come to acquire added importance in the light of the non-aligned community's moves for increased South-South cooperation as a prelude to a concerted effort to bring about global negotiations for evolving a more equitable international economic dispensation.

As chairman of the non-aligned movement, India is now taking greater interest in this concept of regional cooperation shedding its earlier reservations about its feasibility in the present circumstances.

When the late President of Bangladesh, Gen. Zia-Ul-Rahman mooted the idea, India responded rather cautiously maintaining that the proposal should be examined in depth in all its aspects before rushing into it. The other important country in the region, Pakistan, was quite sceptical about the suggestion because of the feeling that it was still too premature politically to embark on such regional economic cooperation.

Step by step approach: The original proposal of Zia-Ul-Rahman was that there should be a summit meeting of the South Asia seven

to set the right tone for this cooperation. But India and Pakistan felt that it would be more appropriate to start off with a meeting of Foreign Secretaries and work step by step towards a Foreign Ministers' meeting, leading eventually to a summit conference after the ground has been carefully prepared for it.

There have been four meetings so far at the Foreign Secretaries level — in Colombo, Kathmandu, Islamabad and now Dhaka — and the stage has now been reached for holding a Foreign Ministers' meeting in Delhi at the beginning of August. It might take a year or two more to complete the spadework for a summit conference.

Spirit of cooperation: The Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. K. Rasgotra, who headed the Indian delegation to the latest round of official level talks in Dhaka, returned tonight fully satisfied with the new spirit of cooperation being displayed by the seven countries which are all members of the non-aligned movement. But the success or failure of this effort would depend on the extent to which India and Pakistan are prepared to cooperate in putting greater content into this concept.

It is no use talking of increased trade, better transit arrangements and beneficial utilisation of joint water resources between India and Nepal or India and Bangladesh, if India

and Pakistan cannot agree on similar cooperation in their respective bilateral spheres. Apart from the Ganga waters issue between India and Bangladesh, there is the question of overland transit facilities through Pakistan for Indian trade with Afghanistan, Iran and Eastern Europe.

Transit trade: It will be too much to expect India to open up its frontiers to transit trade between Nepal and Bangladesh, and Bangladesh and Pakistan, without matching facilities for itself through Pakistan. The Indo-Sri Lanka trade relationship suffers from no such territorial hurdles, but it continues to be hampered by political overtones. The other two countries, Bhutan and Maldives, hardly matter in this design for South Asian cooperation.

However, with all its limitations, the concept itself has caught the imagination of the seven countries as a laudable proposition worth a trial even if no great advantages are going to flow from it in the foreseeable future. After the recent Delhi summit, it has acquired greater acceptability as a desirable experiment in regional interdependence which fits into the wider ideal of South-South cooperation.

It is for this reason that India is attaching considerable importance to the forthcoming meeting of the Foreign Ministers in August in Delhi.

NIGERIA REPORTED SEEKING INDIAN STEEL EXPERTISE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Apr 83 p 8

[Text] Visiting Nigerian Minister of Steel M A Makele disclosed on Thursday that India had offered technical expertise and services for increasing steel production in his country, reports PTI.

Mr Makele, who is heading a Nigerian delegation told newsmen that they wanted to gain from experience of India which was one of the few Third World countries that had taken giant steps in steel technology.

The Nigerian Minister who had discussions with Union Minister for Steel and Mines N K P Salve and other officials in Delhi on Wednesday, commended the contribution made by Indian consultants already working in Nigeria.

The state-owned MECON and the Birla group are, at present actively engaged in the consultancy work in Nigeria.

The Nigerian Minister of Steel said his country was midway through building two giant integrated steel plants with a provision for their capacity to go upto about seven million tonnes in their final stages of production.

The Ajaokuta Steel Plant which would have a production capacity of 5.2 million tonnes in its third and final phase was expected to be completed by 1985, he said.

Mr Makele said the Indian consultants were likely to work on the sophisticated design bureau of the Delta Steel Complex which was already producing billets and rolled products.

He said besides the two full integrated steel plants, Nigeria had also set up three inland rolling mills at Oshogbo, Jos and Katsina with a capacity of 2,10,000 million tonnes each.

Mr Makele hinted that Nigeria was thinking in terms of setting up five more metallurgical plants, including one for aluminium.

CSO: 4600/1980

RAO 25 MAR REMARKS IN LOK SABHA REPORTED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 24 (PTI)—The external affairs minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, asserted in the Lok Sabha today that the induction of sophisticated arms in Pakistan was coming in the way of rapid improvement of relations between the two countries.

"That is creating tension and suspicion", he said replying to an eight-hour debate on demands for grants of his ministry.

Mr. Rao pointed out that "a mini-arms race has started on the sub-continent" despite India repeatedly telling Pakistan that it was unnecessary and it need not embark on it.

"They seem to have other ideas and, therefore, we have to live with this", he said.

Mr. Rao said, "We have to think what we have to do to meet the situation".

During his 50-minute-long reply to a debate spread over two days, the external affairs minister spelt out the follow-up action taken on the seventh non-aligned summit meeting and also issues connected with its neighbours, including China, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, besides Pakistan.

Mr. Rao said arrangements had been completed for transmitting the 'New Delhi message' and the summit document to all heads of state and government, especially of nuclear weapon states and industrialised countries, to obtain their co-operation for the implementation of the suggestions contained in them.

He said the New Delhi message and the document had evoked a great deal of interest all over the world.

Arrangements had also been completed to strengthen the non-aligned movement headquarters—non New Delhi—and also India's permanent mission in the United Nations in New York.

As Chairman of NAM, India would have to convene a meeting of the coordination bureau and it was being done in consultation with other non-aligned nations.

On the economic side, Mr. Rao said he would attend the 'Group of 77' (G-77) meeting in Buenos Aires, beginning next week. His participation, in addition to that of the commerce minister, was to explain the views expressed at the summit regarding economic aspects.

The 'G-77' meeting would be followed by UNCTAD VI in Belgrade in June.

He said steps were also being initiated to ensure that heads of state or government attended the 38th Session of the United Nations.

A call given by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in this connection had been hailed all round, he said and added, "we shall take steps to see that attendance by heads of state or government becomes a reality to discuss major issues facing the world".

Referring to the Iran-Iraq war, Mr. Rao said Mrs. Gandhi, in her capacity as chairperson, had undertaken certain steps in the direction of finding a solution.

CSO: 4600/1916

OFFICIAL ON PLANS FOR ANTARCTIC EXPEDITIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Mar 83 p 9

[Text]

PANAJI, March 24.

The third Indian expedition to Antarctica may leave in December this year, according to Dr. S. Z. Quasim, Secretary, Department of Ocean Development, Government of India.

Dr. Quasim was here to receive the second expedition which returned on Monday after successfully completing its task. A final decision on the size of the team and other related matters would be taken on receipt of the interim report from Mr. V. K. Raina, the leader of the second expedition. (Mr. Raina later told this correspondent that he would be submitting the report in about a week's time).

Exploring Antarctica would have to be a continuous process, Dr. Quasim said. He had made this clear in his report on the first expedition which went under his leadership, he added. He felt it was necessary to go in for a bigger ship so that a bigger contingent of scientists could be sent. The Government of India was likely to buy one ship next year. It would have no ice breaker, but it would be ice strengthened. This could go up to 60 degrees South, while the Indian camp itself was located around 80 degrees South, he said.

On the question of having a permanent manned station in Antarctica, Dr. Quasim said

the decision had to be taken after taking many factors into consideration. One of the scientists of the National Institute of Oceanography, (NIO), Dr. Vinod Dhargalkar, was already in Antarctica with the intention of staying there for one year to study among other things winter conditions and measures for adapting to extreme conditions. He would be staying with the Australian camp and was expected to be back by the end of this year or early next year.

Dr. Quasim said it was not possible to take any chances when it came to the question of setting up a permanent station. Factors such as accommodation for the staff, communication facilities, power supply, and fuel requirements would have to be considered. Besides, disposal of human waste was a problem. There was hardly any biological activity. The most crucial thing had been weather.

Regarding expenses, he said it had not been much. On the first expedition the total expenditure was just around Rs. 1 crore and in the second in which a bigger team went it was about Rs. 2 crores. Expenditure should be considered as an investment for the future. The results of these experiments were more important, he said. — Our Staff Reporter

CSO: 4600/1918

COMMERCE INDUSTRY ANNUAL REPORT SUMMARIZED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Mar 83 p 8

[Text]

INDIA'S exports increased by 15.1 per cent during the first nine months of 1982-83 as compared to the corresponding period of the previous year, according to the annual report of the Commerce Ministry, reports UNI.

Despite the deteriorating international economic and trading environment, the Government succeeded in maintaining the momentum of increased exports which started in 1981-82 while arresting the trend of growth in imports.

Imports during April-December, 1982 increased only by eight per cent as compared to 37.4 per cent in 1980-81 and 8.6 per cent in 1981-82, reflecting the result of increased efforts towards replacing imports in vital areas such as crude oil and fertilisers.

However, the country's trade policy in the matter of import of essential raw materials, capital goods, and technical know-how remained liberal in the interest of sustained growth and development of the economy. The result is manifested in the reduction

of India's foreign trade deficit. On a provisional basis, the deficit of foreign trade during April-December, 1982 at Rs 4,080 crores was lower as compared to the deficit of Rs 4,109 crores in the corresponding period of the previous year.

A new feature was the export of crude petroleum from Bombay high since January, 1982, the report says. Indigenous production of crude increased from 10.5 million tonnes in 1980-81 to 16.2 million tonnes in 1981-82. As a result of this increase, the relative share of oil in India's total imports declined from 42 per cent in 1980-81 to 38 per cent in 1981-82 and is likely to come down further in the next few years.

Efforts to develop India's economic and trade relations with other countries, particularly those of the developing world provided greater scope for diversification of economic and trade links for mutual benefit. Preliminary data for the first half of 1982-83 show increase in exports to the regions of ESCAP, West Asia, Africa and Latin American countries whereas there had been a decline in exports to de-

veloped markets of ECM, EPTA and North America.

Among the important measures taken during the year to give a greater impetus to the country's export efforts were streamlining on duty draw back procedures based on the recommendations of the Duty Draw-back Committee, and the setting up of Export-Import Bank (Exim Bank) for providing financial assistance to exporters and importers.

Greater incentives and organizational support was offered for project exports and encouragement given to joint ventures. At the end of December, 1982, there were 233 effective joint venture proposals out of which 140 were in production/operation and 93 were under various stages of implementation. These joint ventures are dispersed over 27 countries. The maximum number are in the field of light engineering followed by textiles. In the non-manufacturing sector, the largest number of joint ventures are for trading and marketing followed by hotels and restaurants.

CSO: 4600/1920

ENVOY IN PAKISTAN ASKS STOP TO TIRADE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 23 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] Islamabad, March 22 (PTI)--Indian Ambassador Krishna D Sharma has told Pakistan that it would be counterproductive to seek propaganda advantage by raising Kashmir in international forums.

Instead they should opt for bilateral negotiations and quiet diplomacy to resolve all outstanding differences, he said answering questions after addressing the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs at Karachi on Sunday.

Mr Sharma said the Simla agreement provided the best frame-work for normalisation between India and Pakistan and as their bilateral relations gradually improve, problems which had bedeviled their past would come closer to a solution.

Refuting a suggestions that India was spending a huge amount on defence, which could be better diverted for the upliftment of the Indian people, he pointed out that at eight dollars per capita, India's defence expenditure was among the lowest in the world.

On the other hand, Pakistan spent nearly 40 per cent of its federal budget on defence and its per capita defence expenditure was as high as 20 dollars, the Indian Ambassador said.

India has also made all round economic progress since independence and was today the 10th largest industrialised nation in the world, he added.

On Afghanistan, Mr Sharma said the use of harsh language and resolutions condemning states would not bring about any solution as such things only forced people to take entrenched positions of no return.

Settlement

Pakistan too, he said had now come round to the Indian view about achieving a political settlement through quiet diplomact "our perceptions are fairly close now" and Pakistan and India were keeping in touch on the issue.

Mr Sharma rebutted another suggestions that India wishes to become an overlord or a superpower of the region and said New Delhi's relations with all neighbouring countries, whether big or small, were on a good footing.

In reply to another question, the Indian Ambassador said it was unexceptionable principle that minorities in any country should feel secure and assured that minorities were quiet safe in India.

CSO: 4600/1912

INDIAN TRADE WITH FRANCE REPORTED DOUBLED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Mar 83 p 7

[Text] India's exports to France more than doubled in value from 1386 million French franc in 1981 to 4342 million FF (approximately Rs 629 crores), reports PTI.

Though India's imports from France also increased from 2116 million FF to [number indistinct] million FF in 1982 (approximately RS 529 crores), the trade balance turned in India's favour from a deficit of 730 million FF in 1981 to a surplus of 703 million FF (approximately Rs 103 crores).

According to these figures released by the French embassy in Delhi, the dramatic rise in India's exports in 1982 was accounted for by energy products and also some increases in textiles and garments, leather and shoes and jewellery, taking the growth rate of 213 percent. But for the energy products, the increase in India's exports would have been only 14 per cent.

India imported sizable aeronautic equipment and also more engineering and electrical equipment from France, while there was a decline in intake of food products, iron, steel and nonferrous metals from France.

Although France is one of the major trading partners within EEC, which is the biggest trading bloc, the relative share of the community in India's total exports has been declining from 21.1 percent in 1980-81 to 19.4 per cent in 1981-82 and 14.3 per cent in the first half of 1982-83, according to the latest annual report of the Ministry of Commerce.

The report hopes that the five year Indo-EEC trade agreement, which came into effect from 1 January 1982, would help in promoting closer trade and economic relations between India and the community.

With continued rise of imports from EEC, India's trade deficit with the Community considerably widened from Rs 1070 crores in 1980-81 to Rs 1502 crores in 1981-82 and Rs 935 crores during April-September 1982.

CSO: 4600/1931

PRESS REPORTAGE ON DEVELOPMENTS IN ASSAM

Letter of February Elections

Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Mar 83 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 16.

Did the Election Commission write to the Union Government, after the first round of elections in Assam on February 14, on the situation in the State expressing doubts about the peaceful conduct of elections?

Leaders of some non-Congress (I) parties say that such a letter was there which, in their opinion, amounted to an implied plea against going ahead with the poll. The Government says there was no such letter suggesting postponement of the poll. A subject of excited discussion in the lobbies of Parliament, the letter-issue threatens to develop into a bitter controversy.

According to one account, the Commission yesterday sent another letter to the Government in which some of the points dealt with in the earlier communication were recapitulated and elaborated. The second letter drew attention to the view, earlier expressed by the Commission, that the situation in Assam was not ideal for holding the elections.

Reference was also made to the point made by it in the past that "the ideal situation would have been when a solution to the main problem of foreign nationals had been found or an agreement reached between the parties concerned for conducting a peaceful poll with or without an amendment of the Constitution and after an intensive revision of rolls".

'No option': The second letter said: "While the situation in the political field continued without any satisfactory solution, constitutional compulsions forced the Commission and left it with no option but to proceed on the basis of the existing provisions of the Constitution and the law to fulfil its constitutional obligation of

holding elections in Assam before the deadline".

"The attention of the Law Minister", the second letter recalled, "was drawn to the offer made by Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, BJP president, and other leaders of the party in regard to the party's support to any amendment of the Constitution (for presidential rule) beyond the one-year limit prescribed under Article 356 of the Constitution or such action as the Government might wish to take. Since the reaction or the decision of the Government was not communicated to the Commission, even though the letter of February 14 was marked "most immediate" and delivered by a special messenger the same day, the Commission had no option but to proceed with the further process of elections".

Not allowed to table note: The Speaker, Mr. Baisam Jakhhar, ruled against Mr. Vajpayee presenting in the Lok Sabha the Election Commission's note to the Government on the Assam poll (reports PTI).

When Mr. Vajpayee said he had the note and wished to table it in the House, the Speaker maintained that a private member had no such right.

What the note contained was not spelled in the House by Mr. Vajpayee but he linked it with an issue of privilege notice of which he had given to the Speaker against the Law and Home Ministers.

Receipt of the note, or letter, had been denied by the Home Minister earlier this week, a point which Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan (LD) hinted at saying either Mr. Vajpayee or the Minister was "misleading" the House.

Mr. Jakhhar advised Mr. Vajpayee to give the note to him. He assured the member that he had taken action on both the issues, tabling of the note and the privilege motion.

Detection of Foreigners Planned

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Kirit Bhaumik]

[Text] New Delhi, March 17--The government has unilaterally decided to start detection of foreigners in Assam on the basis of 1971 as the cut-off year.

The important decision was taken after the Assam chief minister, Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, had a meeting with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, yesterday. The chief minister is understood to have emphasised the need to end the confusion over the foreigners' issue for speedy restoration of normalcy in his state.

The chief minister was strongly supported by the Congress (D M.P. from Cachar, Mr. Santosh Mohan Dev. and the newly-elected M.P.s from Assam who had also met the Prime Minister separately.

The M.P.s, who had recently toured the riot-affected areas of Assam, told Mrs. Gandhi that even the Assamese-speaking people of the state felt frustrated by the Centre's failure to clearly spell out its policy on foreigners.

Change in Approach

The decision undoubtedly represents a significant change in the government's approach to tackling the Assam situation, and in no small measure the new chief minister has contributed to this. He said quite emphatically that the situation in Assam called for "firm and ruthless" handling.

This change in policy, however, does not mean that the government has turned its back on negotiations, nor does it alter the Prime Minister's stand that 1971 would be "starting point" for detection of foreigners. In all probability it indicates that the Prime Minister's decision is being finally implemented.

Mr. Saikia said today that the doors for negotiations were still open. They were, however, open not only for the AASU and AAGSP--the two organisations which had so far represented the Assamese-speaking people at the talks with the Centre--but also for the tribals and their representatives, and the members of the new assembly.

This policy was earlier enunciated by the home minister, Mr. P. C. Sethi, in Parliament. Mr Saikia's statement shows that there is no change in it.

The chief minister said the detection of foreigners would probably begin in May when all the 300,000 people who had left their homes in the wake of the riots and taken shelter in the relief camps were expected to return to their villages.

Normalcy Soon

The effort of the state government, he said, was to send back the refugees to their villages before the sowing season which begins in May. Meanwhile, the government was increasing the number of "security pockets"—meaning thereby the thanas, and police outposts—to give the people a sense of safety.

However, he pointed out, ultimately it was for the people to take courage and return to their homes. The government could only help them.

He expected normalcy to return to the state very soon. Although it would take some time to remove the sense of alienation which had taken place between different communities, restoration of "emotional integration" among the people could come only gradually. The ruling party was going to launch a phased campaign for removing the prevailing atmosphere of suspicion.

The Congress (I) workers would be sent to the villages to bring the leaders of different communities together and induce a sense of goodneighbourliness among them. This would be the political phase of the campaign. It would be followed by a cultural drive.

In order to impart confidence to the different communities, the chief minister said, he would strictly implement the Assam Languages Act of 1961 under which Assamese was to be the language of the Brahmaputra Valley. Bengali of the Cachar area and English of the hill areas.

Mr. Saikia did not agree that the new assembly lacked legitimacy. He pointed out that even in predominantly Assamese-speaking areas, where there has been no violence, the polling has been tolerably good. As an example, he pointed out that in his own constituency in Sibsagar district, where not a single migrant family had come since 1961, the polling was 25 per cent.

Polling was low only in constituencies where there was large-scale violence. That was primarily because the administration failed to give protection to the voters. In other constituencies, the polling was as high as 85 per cent.

He ruled out the possibility of dissolution of the new assembly and imposition of President's rule. He also discounted reports that the governor would be changed.

AASU Rejections Reported

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 23 Par 83 pp 1, 9

[Article by Manash Ghosh]

[Text] Gauhati, March 22—Mr Prafulla Mohanty, president of the All Assam Students' Union, today rejected the offer of the nearly-elected Congress (I) Government of Assam to hold talks with it on the foreign national issue. In an hour-long interview, the 28-year-old AASU leader said that "the

"so-called new State Government elected by the votes of foreigners" could not claim the confidence of the Assamese people and discuss the issue.

AASU felt that no Government other than the Centre had the competence and the authority to discuss the matter and suggest a solution, he remarked. The Assamese people would continue their non-cooperation movement against the present State Government. The strategy and the future course of action would be worked out.

Mr Mohanty said: "We don't recognize this Government and we will not allow it to function". The AASU president claimed that the poor turnout at polling stations had proved that all sections of the people had responded to its call for a "vote boycott". This is now our strength", he said.

Mr Mohanty described the recent carnage and the spate of violence in the State as Assam's worst tragedy. In terms of life and property, Assam had suffered a colossal loss. But it had to pay a price to safe guard its "interests and sovereignty".

He said enough blood had been spilled and the people in Assam now wanted peace. The AASU president said that some of the incidents were confusing. "One thing is clear that the ruling party had engineered many of these incidents, to give us a bad name and to exploit the situation for political purposes", he said.

Mr Mohanty denied the charge that AASU's agitation on the foreign nationals issue was responsible for the present abnormal situation in the State. He, however, admitted that extremists were responsible for many of the violent incidents. But they had no connexion with AASU which he claimed, believed in peaceful agitation. He parried a question when asked whether extremist elements had infiltrated into AASU. He kept on saying: "All five fingers are not the same", whenever he referred to the extremists.

Mr Mohanty rejected the Government's decision to recognize 1971 as the cut-off year for the detection and deportation of foreigners from Assam. He reiterated that 1951 alone could be the cut-off year as both the Foreigners' Act and the Passport Act had been enforced from that year. All those who had come to settle in Assam from East Pakistan before that date would be allowed to stay in Assam, irrespective of their religion and language.

"Whoever they may be--Bengalis or Nepalis--we consider them Assamese. We don't want to deport Indians. This is not our objective", he said, and added that at least four million foreigners had come from East Pakistan and settled in Assam between 1961 and 1971.

Claiming that the previous Assamese leadership had allowed the foreigners to come and settle in the State, Mr Mohanty said the Assamese leadership had betrayed the people over the past 30 years. Mr Mohanty claimed that the Assam-Bangladesh border was still open and Bangladesh nationals were entering the State freely.

"The whole strategy of Bangladesh to send its excess population to Assam is political. Bangladesh has planned to capture power in this region. We want our border to be guarded in the same way our border with Pakistan is protected; otherwise we shall be overwhelmed by a silent aggression."

The AASU president asked the Centre not to send back refugees who had gone to West Bengal. "Why have they gone to Alipurduar and not to Patna or Lucknow", he asked. He ruled out the possibility of AASU with its three million members, becoming a political party. The Constitution did not allow this, he added.

A Reporter adds: The minority leaders of Assam have appealed to the people of West Bengal to "agitate against the massacre of minority communities in Assam". At a demonstration held at Esplanade East in Calcutta on Tuesday, the leaders reiterated that they needed the "sympathy" of the people of West Bengal more than monetary help.

The demonstration was organized by the Patriot Forum comprising members of the All Assam Minority Students' Union, Citizens' Rights Preservation Committee and the Assam Democratic Rights Front.

Interview With Chief Minister

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 26 Mar 83 pp 1, 9

[Article by Manash Ghosh]

[Text] Gauhati, March 25—The Assam Chief Minister, Mr Hiteswar Saikia, said here today that the Ministry would be ruthless in re-establishing Governmental authority in the State. In an interview in his office at the Dishpur secretariat he reiterated that his Government meant business and was taking necessary corrective measures. "We shall deal with violence ruthlessly. I am tough. I know how to deal with such a situation. I have done it in the past", he said.

The Chief Minister admitted the existence of a parallel Government, which had come up in the absence of a popular Ministry in the State over the past three years and eroded the administration. He admitted that a section of the bureaucracy and Government employees had identified themselves with the agitators. He held the previous Janata and Assam Janata Governments responsible for the situation because they had given tacit support to the agitators to serve their own political ends.

According to him, there was no dispute about the genuineness of the demand for identification of "foreign" nationals and their deportation. But the two previous Governments, he said, had not tackled it in earnest. He alleged that these two Governments comprised Ministers who had defended the agitators' demand though they themselves had been elected with the votes of so-called foreigners. "Doesn't that reveal their real intention?", he asked.

The Chief Minister said that he had already started taking steps to "rebuild" a tottering administration. To start with, the Deputy Commissioners of three districts, Darrang, Lakhimpur and Nowrang, had been replaced. Some Superintendents of Police had also been transferred. A change in the top police machinery was taking place and other important changes were in the offing. At the same time, many officials and employees

at various levels had been dismissed or suspended. "I now want to gear up the administration with the help of loyal, effective and enterprising officials. I am picking them up one by one". He said that the reason why he was not going out of Dishpur was that he was still busy streamlining the administration.

Mr Saikia said he knew all the "real culprits", responsible for the recent violent incidents and was not going to spare them. The Government would show no mercy and would do everything to punish them. Affirming that the popular Ministry's presence was being increasingly felt, he said that it would take some more time for the Government to re-establish its control and authority. "People should not forget that the situation here had drifted dangerously for a long time. Though we would take some time to regain control and restore normalcy there might

be more murders and arson, for over the past three years, this has become the order of the day. But this won't continue", he said.

Mr Saikia expected an early resumption of talks between Mrs Gandhi and AASU on the "foreigners" issue. He wanted the AASU leaders to respond to the Government's offer for resumption of talks in a positive manner. He declared that in any future negotiations, representatives of the Assam Government would be present.

The Government, he stated, would start detection of Bangladeshis who had entered the State after 1971. But the Government would take it up seriously only after the present task of providing relief and rehabilitation to the riot-victims was over. He indicated that if during future talks, a new cut-off-year was determined, the Government would not accordingly.

The Chief Minister described the AASU-AAGSP movement as "vio-

lent". The recent incidents, according to him, were logical outcomes of what they had preached and practised over the years and were not at all non-violent, as some leaders of the agitators had claimed. "Gandhiji had launched a total non-cooperation movement. But he called it off when he found it no longer non-violent. What we are seeing here today are manifestations of a movement which has gone out of the agitators' control. If they were really serious, they would have called it off", he remarked.

Mr Saikia said that the "foreigners" issue had considerable emotional appeal to the Assamese people. That was one of the reasons why the agitation initially had got wide support. The other factor was economic. The cause of the carnages at Nelli and other places, was land. According to him, the local people wanted to drive away the old settlers and live on that land and this created tension. He felt that the success of the

bandh came through intimidation and violence, resorted to by the agitators.

The Chief Minister expressed concern over the students' plight. With all the schools and colleges closed for the past few years, it would have a social repercussion, he felt. What could the Government do, if the students did not want to pursue their studies, he asked. He said that the army and the police were camping only in a few institutions.

Referring to the agitators' call for a social boycott of Ministers and his party MLAs, Mr Saikia said that the move was aimed at humiliating them.

Mr Saikia reiterated that the Government was determined to bring back the refugees who had gone to West Bengal from Assam. Referring to the Prime Minister's forthcoming visit to Assam, he said that Mrs Gandhi wanted to study the situation and to restore peace and amity in the State.

UNI adds: Mr Saikia replying to a four-day debate on the Governor's Address in the Assam Assembly, Mr Saikia defended the Assembly as "constitutional democratic and legal" and that violence had not been caused by the holding of elections.

Mr Saikia said that since the beginning of the movement in 1979 to December 1982, 282 people had been killed, 140 hurt and houses burnt in 423 areas. There were also posters like "Indian dogs go back".

He assured the members that minorities would be protected. He said four task force battalions comprising 2,000 members would be set up in Lakhimpur, Nowgong, Darrang and Kamrup districts and that tribals would be represented in the forces.

The Chief Minister added that a minority cell and a development corporation would be set up for the minorities.

Agitation Suspension Announced

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] The Assam foreigners issue movement leaders today announced a suspension of their main agitational programmes from April 1 to enable themselves to devote to relief and rehabilitation work for the people affected by the recent violence in the state.

The All-Assam Students' Union (AASU) general secretary, Mr. Bhrigu Kumar Phukan, and the All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) convener, Mr. Biraj Sarma, however, said that black flags would be hoisted.

People had been requested not to attend any public meeting addressed by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, during her three-day tour of the state beginning on March 30, they added.

The decisions were taken by the executives of the two organisations which met here during the past two days.

Mr. Phukan and Mr. Sarma said the two organisations had decided to suspend the agitation to bring back peace and normalcy in the state and to stop the vested interests from taking advantage of the prevailing situation arising out of the "imposed elections" in the state.

Announcing a new seven-point programme in a joint statement, the two leaders demanded the setting up of a high-level judicial inquiry commission to go into the causes of the recent violence in the state.

They said that the government and the "divisive forces" were conspiring to malign the agitators.

The joint statement called upon the student community to resume their studies after the "Rangali Bihu" celebrations and urged the authorities to take all steps to bring back normalcy in academic life.

The two leaders demanded the removal of the police and the C.R.P. personnel from the educational institutions and hostels.

'Integration Fortnight'

Mr. Phukan and Mr. Sarma said they had decided to observe and "integration fortnight" from April 1 when students and the public would move to the affected areas and engage themselves in rehabilitational work, including construction of houses and bridges damaged during the disturbances.

The two leaders said the special powers given to AASU and AAGSP units in the state for stalling the elections had now been taken back. They were, however, allowed to take on-the-spot decisions if there was any "extraordinary situation" arising out of visits by ministers and illegally elected MLAs.

Mr. Phukan and Mr. Sarma called upon the students and the public to find out the forces behind the recent violent activities and keep a strict vigil on them.

Meanwhile, after a two-day lull, tension again mounted in the disturbed Nowgong district following two murders in Nijdhing this morning, according to reports received here.

Official sources, however, said they were still awaiting details. The reports said both the victims were hacked to death when they were ploughing their fields.

Tension continued to prevail in some parts of Datrang and Sibsagar districts also, but no untoward incident was reported from those areas. Troops and para military forces were keeping vigil in all the disturbed areas.

A top government official told UNI that detailed procedures and modalities were being worked out and would be finalised soon to start the detection of foreign nationals in Assam, taking 1971 as the starting point.

He said that while a general clearance was already there from that Centre to detect foreign nationals taking 1971 as the starting point, the state would have to consult the Centre for setting up a tribunal and finalisation of procedures and modalities.

Our Staff Correspondent adds:

About 25,000 refugees housed in the transit camps in Alipurduar, in West Bengal, are said to be in two minds about returning to Assam. About 1,000 of them had recently returned but many others were reportedly made to de-train en route by checking staff.

Mr. Jaganath Singhi, Assam's transport minister, who had met the refugees in the Dangi camp and held discussions with the West Bengal chief minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, is expected to report his findings at a meeting of MPs and Congress (I) legislators in Gauhati on Sunday.

Situation Analyzed, Reviewed

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21, 22 Mar 83

[Article by Praful Bidwai]

[21 Mar 83 p 8]

[Text]

THERE is no peace in Assam yet. Going by last week's events, there may not be any for some time to come. In law and order terms, the Assam situation is far from defused. The "sporadic incidents" of violence that have become routine since Nellie continue to keep the charge at a critical level and the tension high. But Assam is ripe for another outbreak of violence, a new reign of terror not because of these incidents alone. It is a society divided upon itself; it has all but come apart.

The unifying elements that held the state together have, as it were, just vanished or given way. Chasms have opened up between all the linguistic and ethnic groups and within them. Families, clans and communities have broken up. Mutual suspicion, distrust, hatred and a generalised malice mark relations among people. Assam is in the grip of conflict: Assamese vs. non-Assamese, Hindu vs. Muslim, supporter of the agitation vs. its opponent, Assamese Hindu vs. plains tribal, plains tribal vs. immigrant Muslim, Assamese Hindu vs. Bengali Hindu, Ahom vs. Ahom, Assamese Muslim vs. Bengali Muslim, Assamese Hindu vs. tea garden labourers and so on.

Today there exists no social or political force with sufficient moral authority that can re-compete Assamese society. The decades-old process of assimilation, of Assamisation of diverse ethnic and linguistic groups has suffered a reversal. The process of social disintegration has accelerated. And, most important, the alienation of the core of the Assamese people from the state, from national politics, from the rest of the country, has now reached a peak.

Hot And Cold

What explains this alienation? The short and simple answer is the way the Centre has dealt with Assam, with the anti-"foreigner" agitation, with the people and their grievances. Whether under the Janata or the Congress (I), New Delhi has alternately blown hot and blown cold on Assam over the past four years. It has accepted the grievances of the Assamese people as genuine and legitimate, but has done little to redress them in a manner that the people consider as legitimate. It agrees that there is a good deal of unregulated immigration into Assam from Bangladesh but does nothing to check it. It offers to hold talks with AASU and GSP leaders but chooses to conduct them in such a way that the two sides merely read out long-winded statements, and do not discuss substantive or practical issues. It promises to help overcome the economic backwardness of Assam but its bureaucrats ensure that in real terms the Sixth Plan allocation for the state is so mean as to perpetuate underdevelopment. It solemnly and repeatedly makes policy statements that no elections would be held in Assam until the electoral rolls are revised, but then, with cold calculation, imposes elections on the state on the basis of unrevised rolls.

The truth is that the Centre appears to most Assamese people as a force that is awesomely powerful but indifferent, even cynical towards Assam and its problems. The resentment towards the Centre is extremely widespread. It began to grow rather rapidly with the installation of the Anwara Taimur ministry at the instance of the Central leadership of the Congress (I). The minority minis-

try was based on defections: the Congress (I) had won a miserable eight seats in the 1978 elections. Even the defectors did not give it a viable strength and it could not survive without the listless and conditional support of a few opposition parties and without the prop of the CRP.

The Taimur ministry was far from a benign joke, however. It did something quite serious and grotesque. First, it identified itself brazenly with the ethnic and religious minorities, primarily the immigrant Muslims, declaring them to be its sole constituency and playing on their insecurity. It encouraged the immigrant Muslims to occupy forest reserve land in lower Assam. And it not only assiduously promoted the then newly formed and small All Assam Minority Students' Union, but also — and disastrously — equated it with the AASU. Secondly, Mrs. Taimur treated all peaceful social protest and a great deal of public activity itself as a mere law and order problem. This is how repression came to be institutionalised, and the CRP used partly as a substitute for the Assam police and partly as the direct agency of a political party whose government had no legitimacy in the eyes of the majority of the people. Thirdly, the Congress (I) ministry launched a veritable purge of the administration, removing all vestiges of neutrality. Civil servants and police officials who were basically neutral in their attitude to the AASU-GSP agitation were clubbed with those who were sympathetic to it and actively helped it. They were all sacked from key posts and replaced with men who were overtly hostile not only to the agitation but to the Assamese people themselves. Thus a culture began to grow within the admini-

stration, which placed a premium on "Assamese bashing", and which favoured hawks who argued that the best way of dealing with the movement was to crush it.

The consequences of the Taimur ministry's approach were disastrous. It polarised Assam as nothing had done earlier.

Yet this is the destructive legacy on which the administration under President's rule that followed the ignominious exit of Mrs. Taimur, under the even less viable Keshub Gogoi minority ministry and under the second spell of President's rule built itself. The transition from the overexposure of the CRPF as a substitute for the Assam police to a force that could be deployed to impose state-backed *bandhs* was both rapid and smooth. Underlying the different policy nuances and tactics employed to deal with the agitation was a continuum: a coherent strategy formulated by Dispur's hawks to isolate and corner the Assamese-speaking majority in the state, to pit all the minorities against it, and to teach it a lesson. The February elections were only one logical component of this strategy.

Last Straw

They were also the last straw for the Assamese people, not merely the supporters of the agitation but, by and large, also those who have all along opposed it as chauvinist. The formation of the Sarkia ministry completes the alienation of the Assamese people from the mainstream of Indian politics. It also means that the resolution of the Assam problem is now likely to be much more difficult than ever before.

Such a resolution is not, and could not have been, easy. For the issues underlying the AASU-CISP demands on which negotiations took place are both numerous and complex. The demands mask the two central issues at the root of the discontent in Assam:

land and language or culture. In many ways, land is the key to the understanding of the problem of "foreigners", viz. immigrants, both legal and illegal. Immigration was consciously encouraged by the colonial administration since the 1920s in order to relieve the heavy population pressure in parts of erstwhile east Bengal, to bring fallow land in Assam under the plough and to raise output in order to feed the forcibly settled tea garden labour population. It has continued virtually uninterrupted, albeit at a reduced pace, since then, reaching a peak in the forties under Muslim League rule. Although the number of immigrants (very difficult to determine accurately, given the paucity of reliable hard data) is not very large in the aggregate, it is heavily concentrated in large pockets close to the Brahmaputra in the valley.

The immigrant Muslim from Mymensingh and Sylhet, described by agronomists as a peasant who is next only to the Punjabi *jat* in his diligence and farming skills, has been a tough competitor for the less efficient Assamese cultivator. Starting from poor-quality land in low-lying and inundated areas, he has moved to prime land, acquiring it by stages, and usually legally. The result of this movement from the fringes to the centre of the agrarian economy of the valley has been the establishment of the immigrants' dominance in the most productive pockets of Assam. A disaggregated picture of the distribution of the population reveals that the immigrants account for between 33 per cent and 57 per cent of the population of the valley districts — and a considerably higher proportion of the agricultural output and surplus. It is this dominance, growing year by year as the immigrants acquire more land and reinvest their profits to expand output and assets, that is at the centre of the As-

samese fear of unregulated immigration.

Alien Language

If language is an equally important issue, it is certainly because the Assamese are perhaps the only significantly large nationality in India who have had to fight against the imposition by the colonial state of an alien language, Bengali, for several decades. The annexation of Assam in 1826 brought in its wake the Bengali *baboo*, and later the lawyer, the teacher, the doctor. A whole middle class grew up under the domination of the Bengalis who regarded Assamese as a dialect, a corrupt version of Bengali. The concerns of this middle class were not limited to throwing off the British yoke but extended to asserting its Assamese identity against the dominant Bengalis. The entire history of Assam in the first half of the century has been marked by the duality of what Professor Amalendu Guha (in his excellent study, "Planter Raj to Swaraj") calls "little nationalism" and great Indian nationalism.

Neither independence, nor the states reorganisation in 1960 settled the language issue fully since immigration continued from East Pakistan/Bangladesh. Many immigrants, especially the Muslims, have adopted Assamese, declared it as their mother tongue and sent their children to Assamese-medium schools. But large numbers of Assamese people fear that the immigrants will now declare themselves as Bengalis and that that will mean that more than a third of the state will "become" Bengali-speaking. Moreover, that will jeopardise the cultural identity of Assam.

(To Be Concluded)

[22 Mar 83 p 8]

[Text] The real issues which underlie the popular discontent in Assam and have fuelled the agitation are by no means new. They go back to the colonial period. The Assamese demanded a ban on immigration from Bengal as early as in the thirties and the forties. And the issue of language and culture has surfaced again and again: in 1947, 1960, 1972.

But what gives the present agitation its wide sweep, its potency and its durability--it has been able to sustain itself for over three-and-a-half years--is not merely the failure of the Centre to resolve the issues even as they have grown to enormous dimensions, but also the fact that there has

existed a virtual political vacuum in Assam for the past five years. The latter element derives from a breakdown of the broad social consensus on which Congress politics had been based till the late sixties. In Assam the breakdown took the form of populism oriented towards the minorities, authored by Mr. D. K. Borooah and summarised in the slogan "Ali, Coolie and OBC"--Bengali immigrant Muslim, tea garden labourer, and "other backward classes," such as the Ahoms, people of Thai-Shan origin who once ruled Assam.

In the early seventies, the Congress under Mr. Borooah and Mr Sarat Sinha identified itself so openly with the minorities--not necessarily the under-privileged amongst them--as to destroy the cohesion that an entire generation of Congress leaders, ending with Mr. B. P. Chaliha, had lent to the party and its government. The process of alienation of the Assamese majority had advanced a great deal by 1978, when the Congress was routed at the Assembly polls and the Janata could not secure a majority. Only the Left made impressive gains but nevertheless remained a small force. The "exhaustion" of the major political parties, the vacuum this produced and the frailty of the Janata minority (which soon collapsed) were just the right conditions for the rise of the AASU--partly as a reaction to the CPM's growing influence among students as well as peasants.

Politican Vacuum

The political vacuum has persisted till today, Mr. Saikia's ministry has not been able to fill it. There exists no agency of conciliation and no political process in Assam. This is the first major obstacle to a resolution of the Assam problem. Among the others are three totally erroneous notions about the character of the Assam agitation, which seem to have found some adherents among senior civil servants in Dispur and New Delhi. The first of these is that the Assam agitation is basically separatist or secessionist. This is far from true; the vast majority of the Assamese cannot yet even conceive of themselves as an entity outside India, and no leader, barring one or two discredited ones, has even threatened secession.

The second of these myths is that the movement is confined to the Assamese elite, primarily urban, whose interests alone it represents. This is simply false; if anything, the movement has spread far and wide over the past three years. While it may not articulate the interests of the majority of the Assamese-speaking people. It is supported by the core of them. The third notion, related to the first two, is that the movement can be crushed by force, and that no talks should be held with its leaders since they will merely prolong the agitation and give them a respectability they do not deserve. This is playing with fire, if not an incitement to renewed carnage.

Hawkish Line

One does not have to be a sympathiser of the movement to see that these ideas are the product of fevered imaginations and of minds that are either lazy or warped or both. But they have certainly played an important role in hardening New Delhi's attitude towards Assam over the past three months. Their proponents have taken a hawkish line on the resumption of talks and already made a prestige issue of associating the Saikia government with them.

More importantly, they have now formulated for discussion a proposal for the dismemberment of Assam into four separate zones: one consisting of Bengali-speaking Cachar and parts of Goalpara; the second, a sort of Udayachal Pradesh covering the north bank of the Brahmaputra, with a significant plains tribal component; the third comprising the relatively "pure" upper Assam districts; and the fourth including what is left--the lower Assam districts, with "mixed" populations of Assamese-speakers and immigrants.

This proposal is a recipe for disaster. The Assamese, already contrite and sad over the earlier separation of the hill states, and suspicious of the Centre's intentions and actions, are in no mood even to discuss such an idea. Not a single significant group, except perhaps the Bengalis of Cachar, is likely to support any further division of Assam. It is unwise today even to raise the seemingly innocuous idea of sundering Cachar from Assam since this could be the thin end of the wedge in the eventual dismemberment of the state.

Besides, whether in linguistic, ethnic, cultural, political, economic or social terms, the proposal makes no sense whatsoever. The social fabric of Assam, its ethnic composition, its political constitution, its economy, are at once too integrated, well-synthesised, and thickly interwoven with diverse elements for such a division to be fair or even functionally viable. It is impossible to find anywhere in Assam, barring perhaps the hill tribal districts, a single square mile of land which does not bear the impress of the state's diversity, its history of assimilation. There is hardly an institution or an administrative network or a subculture which can be treated as a discrete entity or geographically isolated. Any attempt forcibly to treat it as such can only open up all the old sutures, and inflict new wounds on Assam. Each district of the state will turn perpetually into another Manipur.

Army's Role

But what can be done in Assam? Is there a solution? On a pessimistic view, there may not be one in the short or middle run. Even from an optimistic standpoint, things do not look bright at all. The immediate danger is that with the next burst of violence or individual terrorism--and there is bound to be some of this during the current Assembly session--the army's role will be enlarged, and that this will provoke a vigorous reaction, aggravating the situation further. This could only lead to a semi-permanent and active presence of the army, and to further alienation of the Assamese people. Endless blood-bath, insurgency, and total social disruption could be the only consequence of this. Its dimensions are truly awesome.

Assam is today on the verge of precisely such a calamity. That is why only the most imaginative, the most flexible, the most astute and farsighted statesmanship can work in that state. Only such an approach can create the preconditions, though only the pre-conditions, for a solution. The most vital of these is the restoration of good faith and confidence among the Assamese people. This can be done only if the role of the armed forces is severely limited, and talks are held between the Centre and the ASSU on all outstanding issues, including and immediately the restoration of peace, without any conditions. This will involve not merely removing the irritant

in the form of the insistence of the association of the Saikia ministry with the negotiations. It will also mean that the recently announced plan for unilateral detection of foreigners with the 1971 cut-off date is discussed in detail with the AASU and the norms and modalities are worked out jointly with it.

Serious Effort

Above all, it entails that the Centre at once makes a serious effort to persuade the AASU to join it in a campaign to restore peace in Assam. And that the Centre makes a suo moto declaration that it is seriously and emphatically committed to Assam and resolving its problem. Three elements are vital to such a declaration. First, the acknowledgement of the crucial issues of land and culture and of willingness to ban the further alienation of land from the Assamese speaking people. Secondly, a clear statement that the language issue in Assam remains closed and that there will be no threat to the state's cultural and linguistic status. Thirdly, a solemn statement that the Centre will eschew a confrontationist approach and is willing to open all contentious issues for discussion.

All this of course presupposes a sea change in the Centre's stance. In particular, it means that all those who have advised Mrs. Gandhi during the past year on Assam are sent packing. Fortunately, there is an alternative, a reservoir of expertise on Assam that the Centre can use. People such as Mr. L. P. Singh, Mr. Nari Rustomji, and Mr. P. N. Haksar have a far-from-superficial understanding of Assam and their talent as administrators and statesmen is beyond dispute. It is time to consult them.

(Concluded)

G. K. Reddy Comment

Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, March 29--The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who is leaving for Assam tomorrow on a two-day visit, did not take part today in the traditional Holi celebrations as a token of her distress over the tragic events in the State.

Her visit to Assam, the second since the ghastly massacres last month, is intended to provide some degree of re-assurance to the ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities, which suffered most during recent carnage.

But the Centre seems to be still groping in the dark not knowing what to do next to open the way for a resumption of negotiations. If the leaders of the agitation are bent on staging black flag demonstrations during Mrs. Gandhi's visit, it would only harden the attitude of the Central Government.

The Prime Minister does not want to appear to be yielding to political pressures by reimposing President's rule or even replacing the Governor at this state. So she continues to back the Saikia Ministry for what it is worth, knowing full well that it is both unrepresentative and ineffective in coping with the dreadful situation.

Virtually under President's rule: It is an open secret that Assam, like Punjab, is being Centrally administered for all practical purposes, with the result that the two troubled States have been virtually under President's rule despite the nominal continuance of popular Governments there. The increasing induction of the Army, supplementing the presence of over 35,000 BSF, CRP and other armed police personnel from outside, has exploded the myth that the present State Government in Assam is able to wield any semblance of authority.

Counter-demands: The only chauvinistic overtones of the Assam agitation, culminating in the recent carnage, is provoking counter-demands for a further break-up of the truncated State on the ground that the narrow sub-nationalist sentiment being promoted by the leaders of the AASU and AAGSP, backed by the new cult of violence, has destroyed the composite character of the State.

In the absence of a proper policy for dealing with this complex situation, the Centre is playing for time hoping fervently that perhaps sooner than later, the agitation leaders would come round and agree to resume the negotiations realising the futility of violence. But meanwhile the leadership itself has been passing into the hands of the extremists with the moderates unable to restrain the militants from resorting to isolated acts of terrorism.

No credibility in Ministry: The sad part of it all is that the people of Assam have no faith in the ability or credibility of the Saikia Ministry to carry out the operation of detecting the foreign nationals who have infiltrated after 1971 and deleting their names from the electoral rolls as a prelude to a final settlement. The State Government is able to remain in power only under the shadow of the Army and the Central Police with no pretensions at all of ruling with the help of the alienated local administration.

Insurgents' threat: The Centre is not unaware of the grave dangers of the militants in all the north-eastern States ganging up to pose a bigger threat of insurgency in the entire region in the absence of an early settlement of the Assam problem. But if the political leadership is adamant to the point of making a prestige issue of the continuance of the Saikia Ministry in office at any cost, there is little hope of providing the necessary healing touch for restarting the interrupted dialogue in a calmer atmosphere free from inflamed passions.

The Congress (I), haunted by its own versions of domino theory, is not displaying the requisite courage and imagination in facing the challenges in Assam. It is unwittingly allowing itself to be placed on the defensive, when as a ruling party, it should be displaying a firm determination to settle this problem.

It remains to be seen whether Mrs. Gandhi's visit to the State to see for herself the havoc wrought by the wave of violence still sweeping Assam will make her change her mind and agree, better late than never, to end the cruel farce of a popular government and put back the State under President's rule as an essential first step towards restoration of normality followed by an early resumption of negotiations with all the interests concerned.

CSO: 4600/1924

ENVOY TO UN SPEAKS IN SECURITY COUNCIL ON NICARAGUA

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Mar 83 p 9

[Text]

UNITED NATIONS, March 26
(UN).

REAFFIRMING the non-aligned appeal to the United States and Honduras to take "a constructive position", India has called a halt to "armed intervention" in Nicaragua.

As the super powers clashed in the United Nations security council last night, an Indian delegate warned that failure to end the crisis could lead to "incalculable consequences."

India's acting permanent representative, Mr. S. V. Purushottam, reiterated a call made by the non-aligned summit in New Delhi for "constructive dialogue" to resolve the present conflict.

Mr. Purushottam was speaking in the council, which has been debating since Wednesday Nicaragua's complaint that the U.S. is making fresh attempts to crush its revolution.

The Indian diplomat voiced "grave concern that there has been a dangerous aggravation of the situation in central America so soon after the call by the New Delhi conference."

Stressing "the seriousness of the situation," Mr. Purushottam urged the council against wasting time "in endless debate" and asked members to find ways and means to keep the situation from worsening.

He called it "imperative that all armed intervention and action is halted immediately and peace is given a chance. Intervention or interference of any kind is inadmissible. Failure to recognise this could lead to incalculable consequences which all of us might have cause to regret."

The Nicaraguan authorities have accused the Reagan administration of aiding and abetting "counter-revolutionaries", who, they allege, have been

joined by Honduran troops.

Washington has accused the Nicaraguan government of repressing people at home and indulging in aggression abroad to destabilise "democratic" neighbours at Soviet bidding.

The Indian diplomat cited the non-aligned summit's assertion that the processes of change in central America could not be attributed to East-West ideological confrontation.

TRADE UNION, CPI-M LEADER OPPOSES IMF LOANS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Mar 83 p 18

[Text] Pune, March 26--The Centre is re-introducing emergency in a phased manner through systematic attacks on organised labour, Mr. B. T. Ranadive, president of the Centre of Indian Trade Union (CITU) and senior CPM leader, said here today.

Inaugurating the fourth convention of the Maharashtra unit of CITU, Mr. Ranadive said the Union government was adopting an anti-labour policy under directives from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Under pressures from the IMF, the government had relaxed restrictions on the imports of certain goods. Consequently, over 35,000 small-scale industries had to close down rendering thousands of workers jobless.

"Back-Seat Driver"

He said India would be crushed under the IMF loan and the actual problem would start once the repayment of the loan began. He told the 500 delegates at the three-day conference that it was the IMF that decided our country's policies and thus the workers' fate would continue to be ruled by the IMF.

The CPM leader stressed the need for a broad-based unity of all central labour organisations to fight the on-slaughts on the trade union movement. Ceaseless efforts should be made to force the government to withdraw all anti-labour legislations. The united front of trade unions should start discussions on the economic policies to decide on a plan of action, he said.

More and more industrial workers were participating in mass actions, but the authorities were trying to suppress these movements by using brute force, he alleged. In north India, wives of the militant trade union leaders were being subjected to criminal assaults.

The growing discontent among the working people could be gauged from the fact that 3.50 crore mandays had been lost in the country last year and taking into account the Bombay textile workers' strike, the figure would go up to five crores, he added.

CSO: 4600/1922

CONGRESS-I, CONGRESS-S MERGE IN WEST BENGAL

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 27 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 26--The Congress (I) working president, Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi, today announced the formal merger of the West Bengal unit of the Congress (S) in the Congress (I), report PTI and UNI.

In a statement, Mr Tripathi said: "We welcome the resolution of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee headed by Mr Priya Ranjan Das Munshi to join the mainstream of the Indian National Congress headed by Mrs Indira Gandhi.

"We admit them all to strengthen the Congress organization in the State," Mr Tripathi said.

Releasing Mr Tripathi's statement to the Press, the party general secretary, Mr C. M. Stephen, said the merger assumed significance because it would help the polarization of political forces opposed to the CPI(M) in the State.

Mr P. R. Das Munshi, president of the West Bengal Congress (S), Mr Ananda Gopal Mukherji, president of the West Bengal Congress (I), Mr Subrata Mukherji, chief whip of the party in the West Bengal Assembly and Mr Rajesh Khaitan, treasurer, SBPCC (I), were present when Mr Stephen made the announcement of the merger.

Mr Stephen said his party has been gaining ground in West Bengal and was providing the leadership for the polarization of forces in the State.

Asked about certain former Congress leaders in West Bengal having kept out of the merger, Mr Stephen said: "We deal with forces and not with individuals".

Commenting on the merger, Mr Das Munshi said: "In the hour of crisis, the fabric of national unity can be safeguarded by the Indian National Congress led by Mrs Indira Gandhi".

Mr Das Munshi said that if his critics accused him of compromising his position, he would say "yes".

"We are compromising in the interest of the people and we do not stand on individual ego", Mr Das Munshi said.

Mr Stephen said that this merger would mark the end of divisions in the Congress ranks in the State and the CPI-M would be facing a strong and determined force.

Mr Stephen, however, said that CPI-(M) onslaught on party workers was on the decline "though murder of our people is going on".

Mr Somen Mitra and Mr Subroto Muknerjee, who head the West Bengal Pradesh Youth Congress and Chhatra Parishads respectively announced the dissolution of the two organizations at all levels.

They pledged to lend their fullest support and cooperation to the official bodies and work unitedly to ensure that both the Youth Congress and Chhatra Parishad follow the Congress (I) doctrines and work effectively to strengthen the youth movement in West Bengal.

Meanwhile, the Kerala Congress (I) leader, Mr A. K. Antony, said in Cochin today that all those who had faith in democracy would welcome the merger of the Congress (S) with the Congress (I) in West Bengal.

In a statement here, Mr Antony, whose breakaway group of the Congress (S) merged with the Congress (I) in Kerala only months ago, said the latest development in West Bengal had proved that his party's decision in December to unite with Congress (I) was a "correct step".

CSO: 4600/1923

DEFENSE MINISTER NOTES NEW WEAPONS; REPORT PRESENTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 26 Mar 83 pp 1, 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 25.—India has developed armour which resists anti-tank missiles and shells, the defence Minister, Mr R. Venkataraman told the Rajya Sabha today, reports PTL.

Intervening in a discussion on a private member's resolution seeking to constitute a national security council to cover all aspects of the country's defence policy, Mr Venkataraman said this kind of armour was the rest of its kind in the world.

Mr Venkataraman said Vajayanta tanks were being updated and upgraded. T-72 tanks would be built in India.

The Defence Ministry was working on a modern battle tank and trials on it were being held. He hoped a breakthrough would be made in the near future.

On a request by the Minister, Mr Jaswant Singh later withdrew his resolution.

In response to a suggestion by a member, Mr Venkataraman said the present system of three Chiefs of Staff for various wings of the

armed forces had proved successful. Coordination among them had been a success and so there was no need to change the system, he added.

Our Special Representative adds: While taking into account the recent efforts made by India and Pakistan to stabilize their relations, the Defence Ministry's annual report, presented to Parliament today, notes that with the developments in West Asia, the Gulf and Afghanistan, "Pakistan's importance in the strategic perception of the USA has grown significantly".

The U.S.-Pak deal for the supply of \$3.2 billion worth of arms and economic aid to Pakistan bore testimony to this. The fact also remained that the bulk of Pakistan's armed forces continued to be deployed on its frontiers with India. "We have made it clear on more than one occasion that we seek normal and friendly relations with Pakistan", of which the discussions to bring about better understanding was proof. The drafts of a no-war pact proposed by Pakistan and a treaty of friendship proposed by

India had been exchanged, and the India-Pak Joint Commission had been set up.

Yet even as these efforts were on, India had to maintain utmost vigilance, especially in view of the sophisticated arms being acquired by Islamabad and the disquieting reports that that country was taking to the path of nuclear weaponry, the report said.

The report says that during the year just past, there had been no reduction in tension around the world. Detente appeared to have broken down and the approach of the major Powers to disarmament had been half-hearted and discriminatory. The special session of the U.N. on disarmament had been a failure.

Tension had been aggravated by economic problems which seemed to bedevil the East and the West.

Moting the Chinese desire to normalize relations and continuation of bilateral talks, the report says: "Although China still shares strategic perceptions with the USA, a certain thawing of relations between China and the Soviet Union is discernible".

On India-Bangladesh relations, the report takes note of the significant progress achieved towards resolution of some of the outstanding issues. The report expresses "grave concern" at the lack of progress in declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It says: "The intense and rapidly growing military activities of the major Powers in the Indian Ocean have serious implications for us".

Referring to the process of defence preparedness on the basis of five-yearly Plans, the report states that the emphasis of the present defence plan (1980-85) is on modernization and replacement of equipment, securing greater fire power, mobility and more modern means of communication, and on self-reliance and import substitution. Regular monitoring of its implementation within the scheduled time-frame, subject to overall financial constraints, was carried out and an effort was made to limit the defence expenditure to the lowest level consistent with the requirements of national security.

The report details various steps to modernize the Army to improve its fire-power, mobility and night warfare capability. A number of modernization schemes were nearing final stages. These included raising of certain formations and units to fill voids in the field Army and modernization of weapon system to enhance its combat potential on the battlefield.

CSO: 4600/1924

DEFENSE SCIENTISTS DEVELOP LASER-GUIDED MISSILES

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 83 p 1

[Text]

India is developing a third generation laser-guided missile with indigenous electronics systems and special type of steel and alloys.

The sophisticated technology for the manufacture of the missile, which will incorporate the state of the art, has been perfected by scientists of the Indian defence research department.

Official sources said when the missile passes successful firing trials, India will rank among the most advanced nations in this field of modern military technology.

The sources said India has also developed a high level of expertise in research and development of sophisticated missiles for the army, navy and the air force which will enter service from 1990 onwards.

Defence scientists have perfected the radar systems, the tracking system and guidance systems for a wide range of missiles which are now undergoing field trials.

A great deal of capability has also been acquired in the propulsion system for the missiles.

The defence research and development laboratory has begun work for the evaluation of modern low-level quick reaction surface-to-air missiles. Work was in progress for the manufacture of missiles for the navy and a new generation of anti-tank missile.

CSO: 4600/1925

PUBLIC SECTOR DEFENSE UNITS' PRODUCTION TOLD

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 27 Mar 83 p 7

[Text]

The nine public sector undertakings in the defence sector represented a total capital investment estimated at Rs 631.70 crores in 1982-83 including Rs 243.58 in equity and Rs 388.11 crores by way of loans.

According to the annual report of the Defence Ministry the value of production went up by almost 71 per cent from Rs 475.33 crores in 1980-81 to Rs 829.38 crores in 1981-82 and is estimated to rise to Rs 1,028.23 crores during 1982-83.

The aggregate turnover increased from Rs 472.74 in 1980-81 to Rs 744.41 in 1981-82, an increase of 58 per cent, and is estimated at Rs 928 crores in 1982-83.

During 1981-82 four defence units viz. HAL, BEL, BHEL and MDL accounted for 92.3 per cent of the total turnover. The most spectacular increase being registered by BHEL, from Rs 37.91 crores in 1980-81 to Rs 221.98 crores in 1981-

82, an increase of 152 per cent.

Six of the nine companies increased their profit (before tax) from Rs 29.49 crores in 1980-81 to Rs 86.56 crores during 1981-82. Five of them declared dividends during 1981-82 amounting to Rs 970.14 lakhs as compared to Rs 443.72 in the previous year. Exports of the defence units increased by about 95 per cent from Rs 13.37 crores in 1980-81 to Rs 26.07 crores in 1981-82.

According to the annual report, 'the recent orders for additional Jaguar aircraft will enable HAL to manufacture the sophisticated aircraft from raw materials and also maintain this class for aircraft till the end of the century. Decisions are awaited about manufacture of light transport aircraft at Kanpur and on design collaboration for advanced light helicopter.'

Bharat Electronics, whose sales turnover of Rs 122.44 crores dur-

ing the year was 50 per cent more than the previous turnover of Rs 82.95 crores recently received approval for setting up two additional new equipment factories and another factory for manufacture of glass bulbs for black and white TV picture tubes.

It plans to increase its production at an annual growth rate of about 14 per cent during the next five years.

Bharat Earth Movers Limited achieved a record turnover of Rs 222 crores and a pre-tax profit of Rs 29.88 crores in 1981-82. The production of earthmoving equipment registered a 46 per cent increase over the previous best in 1979-80. The company has started manufacturing an advanced version of the moto grader with 145 HP engine and hydraulic controls.

It exported earthmoving equipment and spares worth Rs 441 lakhs during 1981-82 and export during 1982 are expected to be of the order of Rs 5 crores.

CSO: 4600/1925

NAXALITES REPORTED ACTIVE AGAIN IN BIHAR

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Mar 83 p 7

[Text]

MONGHYR. (Bihar).
March 20 (UNI).

AFTER being dormant for nearly a decade, Naxalites are once again active in the rural areas of this district.

The villages, noted for their abysmal poverty, were once a favourite haunt of Naxalite leaders from West Bengal, including Charu Mazumdar.

Their activities came to a head in 1971 when two businessmen in this town were killed in grenade blasts on crowded streets. Thereafter, the movement suffered a decline, as in West Bengal.

The renewed activities of the extremists in the region was highlighted by a shoot-out some weeks ago in Ghogi Bariarpur, in which four teenagers were killed.

NURSERY OF EXTREMISM

Ghogi Bariarpur is typical of the villages around and is considered a nursery of extremist movement.

It is inhabited predominantly by backward classes like Harijans, Koiries, Kurmis and Yadavs. Owning no land, they earn their livelihood as farm hands.

For nearly 30 years, the village had witnessed a simmering agitation for higher wages.

The movement died down for a while and flared up again about a year ago and tension began building up.

The landlords would not take this lying down. They went to court and launched prosecutions on some ground or other. As the situation worsened, Ramashish, an ardent Naxalite of Charu Mazumdar brand, pitched in.

In a few weeks, the red banner of the CPI (ML) went up over most of the huts and meetings were held to condemn the attitude of landlords.

One of the demands was that the labourers should get 25 kg of every 40 kg of grains produced.

All this brought CPI (ML) chief, Mahadeo Mukherji, also to the village. He urged the villagers to arm themselves and forcibly harvest the crops.

The speech provoked the landless. The next day they marched in a procession to a field, harvested wheat crop worth about Rs. 12,000 and carried it home.

The concerned landlord lodged a complaint with the police, alleging that about 200 labourers had harvested his field at gun-point.

The police took no action and the landlord complained to higher police officers. Ramashish and about 80 of his supporters were arrested.

This caused a big demonstration in the village. About 200 men and women, beating drums, marched to the police station and surrounded it, demanding the release of the arrested.

The police took no action and the would release the people if asked to do so by the landlord. The crowd then marched to the landlord's house shouting slogans. A shot was heard and the landlord fired nine rounds, killing four boys, all teenagers.

The villagers say those killed were not Naxalites. The boys had gone to a Ram Mandir near the landlord's house to witness puja and happened to be in front of the house at the time of firing.

TAMIL NADU FACING 'UNPRECEDENTED' DROUGHT

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Mar pp 1, 9

[Article by V. G. Prasad Rao]

[Text]

MADRAS: An unprecedented drought is slowly tightening its grip on the state as summer advances. For the first time in memory, the granary district of Thanjavur and the greenest patch of Tamil Nadu, Kanyakumari district, have been affected. Among the worst-hit is nearby North Arcot district from where some migration of villagers to Madras city has already taken place.

The failure of the monsoon for two consecutive years has had a three-dimensional impact on the state which faces the problems of scarcity of drinking water, food and power. Rice production fell from 6.1 million tonnes in 1979-80 to 5.5 tonnes in 1981-82 and plummeted to 2.9 tonnes in 1982-83. As there is no question of hydel generation because of the low levels in Mettur and other reservoirs, the state electricity board has to depend only on thermal power and so imposed a demand cut of 75 per cent and an energy cut of 60 per cent on medium and large-scale industries using high tension power.

Tamil Nadu finds itself helpless because both Kerala and Karnataka, who sell surplus power to this state, are themselves in difficulty. But Andhra Pradesh is in a position to help our Tamil neighbour and is likely to do so on its own terms. With its poor performance in thermal generation both at Tuticottin and Ennore, the SEB perforce has to depend on the more efficiently-run Central sector Neyveli thermal station, which now bears the brunt of the Tamil Nadu grid.

The finance minister, Mr. V. R. Nedunchezian, somberly told the state assembly the other day that the power position could improve only

with the arrival of the south-west monsoon in June. Despite efforts at substitution through generation sets, both industrial and agricultural production has been badly hit, leading to a lowering of the purchasing power all round.

At the moment there is no shortage of food stocks, even by the state government's own accounts. It has procured 270,000 tonnes of Kuruvai paddy though it could not mop up more than 100,000 tonnes from the Samba Thaladi crops. The government's public distribution system, which takes care of some 17 million families, has now restricted the supply of fair price rice to those with incomes under Rs. 1,000 a month. There is abundant rice available in the open market, thanks to supplies from Andhra Pradesh, at prices ranging from Rs. 3.50 to Rs. 4.50 a kg. Cheaper coarse grains are also available. The problem is one of purchasing power, which is sadly lacking in the vast rural areas.

The state government has submitted a detailed report on the drought conditions to the Centre whose team has visited the state for verification. The report has not yet been released and very little information from official sources is available as of now. But from reports from the various centres and what this correspondent has seen during visits to some of the affected areas, there is no doubt that a state-wide drought of great magnitude is gathering force.

The full effect is likely to be at the height of summer in the next couple of months. The government, which first gave an estimate of Rs. 100 crores to the Centre for a drought relief programme, has now

revised it upward to Rs. 218 crores.

The most serious aspect of the drought fodder and power shortages apart — is the scarcity of drinking water throughout the state, especially in Madras city. On a recent tour of Kanyakumari district, this correspondent was surprised at the magnitude of the drinking water problem. The water levels in the Pechiparai and Perunchani dams at the time were less than half a metre and two metres respectively, compared to 7.5 and 12 metres at the same time last year. With the level in the Kukkudal reservoir less than two metres, the drinking water supply is not even sufficient to last till the end of March. Even in Nagercoil town, women and children formed long queues at public water taps to draw on the restricted supply.

One of the reasons for the poor turnout at the ten-day Mandaikadu Bhagawati temple festival was the acute scarcity of drinking water. The temple well itself was symptomatic, as the few devotees who drew up water in a bucket found it a muddy brown. The government maintained a supply of drinking water through lorries for the benefit of the visitors.

Madras city, which has experienced acute water scarcity in varying degrees year after year, is facing one of its worst times. With a water supply system devised for a population of perhaps a-fifth of the present 4.5 million, no government — Congress, DMK or AIADMK — has bothered to go in for a lasting solution of the problem. Even at the best of times, the supply, based on the Poondy, Sholavaram and Red Hills lakes, was between 40 and 50 million gallons daily. Almost the same supply is now being provided but on alternative days.

The Metrowater authorities are now practically scraping the bottom as far as the three reservoirs are concerned. The accent is now on tapping underground water. A team of UN experts have discovered that underground and surface water in surrounding areas could be tapped to provide an additional 35 million gallons daily. By next month, when the situation becomes really serious, the authorities hope to be in a position to tap enough ground water to keep up the present attenuated supply. Twenty-two deep bore wells have been sunk. A 2.3-km. pipeline will convey the ground water from Tamarakkam to the conduit of Red Hills.

The nearby North Arcot district is among the worst affected. The common distress signal was the sale of cattle at ridiculously low prices because there was no fodder for the animals. Water sources in the district have started drying up. The Sattanur dam, a favourite shooting locale of the film industry, presents a pitiable sight.

Cheywar taluka is typical of North Arcot district in the grip of drought, not for the first time. The village of Gowlamandal, for example, is practically deserted, most of its 500 inhabitants having made their way to Madras to eke out a living. Its only water source is now a dry bed of cracked mud. In Cheywar town and surrounding villages, drinking water is scarce. Many inhabitants of these places have migrated elsewhere. Conditions are so bad that even firewood gathered and sold in bundles has gone up five times in price.

ONLY SOLUTION

The state government is taking vigorous steps to meet an all too familiar situation. One of the measures is the diversion of staff and funds for a month from the state's self-sufficiency scheme and integrated rural development programme to the execution of water supply schemes.

Thousands of borewells have been provided by the Tamil Nadu water supply and drainage board in the rural and municipal areas since August. Without waiting for funds from the Centre, the state government has authorised Rs. 46 crores for relief works. This would include the sinking of 5,000 filter-points, tubewells in Thanjavur district.

In the city itself, more than 10,000 tubewells have been sunk. Where tubewells are not feasible and in tail end areas not reached by the piped water supply, Metrowater is providing drinking water by filling some 1,600 water tanks (erected mainly in slum areas) using 130 tankers (lorries) for the purpose.

Bulk users of water, like big hotels, hospitals, the railways, port trust, industrial establishments, factories and so on, have made their own arrangements. Many have sunk deep borewells. Their extra requirements are met by private suppliers. These entrepreneurs supply lorry-loads of water drawn from their own bore wells sunk along the coastline between Tiruvannamipur and Mahabalipuram, or wells leased from others. The price, of course, depends on the distance, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 for the tanker capacity of 8,000 litres. Transport charges are high as the 30 odd borewells engaged in the business are 20 to 25 km from the city.

The only long-term solution, according to present thinking, is bringing Krishna water to Madras. Successive governments have dragged their feet in pursuing this project. The Telugu Desam government of Mr. N. T. Rama Rao has expressed willingness to honour the commitment of the earlier Congress (I) government of Andhra Pradesh to Tamil Nadu. It now remains to be seen how the two neighbouring states and the Centre decide to stake the thirst of the booming metropolis of Madras.

BRIEFS

INDO-KUWAITI TAX AGREEMENT--India and Kuwait have entered into an agreement to avoid double taxation of income from international air transport with retrospective effect from 1 January 1967, reports UNI. Under the agreement, which came into force from Thursday, income derived by aircraft enterprise of one country will be exempt from tax in the other country. While the provisions of the agreement would apply retrospectively in respect of the earnings of the airlines of the two countries from 1 January, 1967, the assessment in respect of the period prior to 1 January, 1967 would not be reopened, a Finance Ministry press note clarified on Friday. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Apr 83 p 7]

GANDHI TRAVEL PLANS--Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is expected to visit Austria in June when she will open a major western Europe-India dialogue congress, reports PTI. New Austrian Ambassador to India Eric M. Schmid on Thursday said Mrs Gandhi's official visit to his country would 'undoubtedly open up new dimensions of our relationships.' Mr Schmid, who presented his credentials to President Zail Singh had been Ambassador in Thailand, Peru and Indonesia, and has considerable experience of international economic organisations including GATT, UNCTAD, UNIDO and UNDP. He led the Austrian delegation to UNCTAD-II in New Delhi in 1968. According to present indications, Mrs Gandhi is expected to be in Vienna on 16 June after visits to Belgrade, Oslo and Helsinki. At the end of a three-day official visit, Mrs Gandhi will inaugurate on 18 June the Indo-Western Europe dialogue congress at Alpbach, a mountain village in western Austria. The dialogue is the first of its kind between India and Western Europe and would bring leading specialists together to deal with cultural and economic relations. Welcoming the help from friendly countries like Austria in the task of nation building, Mr Zail Singh said since independence the country had made great strides towards ensuring the well being of its people though 'there are miles to go before we achieve our cherished goals.' [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Apr 83 p 8]

INDO-SAUDI JOINT COMMISSION--Abu Dhabi, April 1 (UNI)--India and Saudi Arabia have set up a joint commission to step up economic, technical, scientific and agricultural cooperation. The ratification documents for the commission were exchanged on Wednesday in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, between Saudi Foreign Minister Saud Al Faisal and Indian Ambassador T T P Abdulla. The idea for the commission was mooted during Prince Saud's visit to New Delhi in 1981. Mr Abdulla told UNI on telephone that the commission would attempt to boost two-way cooperation and that experts from both countries would exchange visits to help in progress. The first meeting of the commission, to be headed by Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee and his Saudi counterpart, is likely to be held in New Delhi later this year.

SOVIET NEWSPRINT--Moscow, March 16 (PTI)--India today signed a contract to buy 60,000 tons of Soviet newsprint during 1983-84 at which the State Trading Corporation circles consider to be a very competitive price. The contract was negotiated last week with the 'Exportles' (forest product export) organisation of the Soviet Union by a visiting Indian delegation. Mr. R. N. Mahadevan, registrar of newspapers in India, Mr. P. K. Roy, manager of 'The Hindu', and Mr. H. L. Barman, chief marketing manager of STC's newsprint division, were members of the delegation. The contract was signed here this afternoon by the STC chief marketing manager and the deputy director and deputy general director of 'Exportles'. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Mar 83 p 20]

TEXTILES TO USSR--Bombay, 17 Mar--Mr. N. Kulikov, trade representative of the Soviet Union, said here on Tuesday, that while there has been an improvement in quality of fabrics supplied by some of the mills in India to the USSR, some major defects still persisted. According to Mr. Kulikov, as the Indian textile industry has the capability of improving the current level of exports he said these defects could be removed at the production stage and partly eliminated at the preinspection stage. Giving the keynote address as a seminar on 'Quality aspects of textile exports to USSR' organized by the Cotton Textiles Export Promotion Council (TEXPROCIL), he said that more mills should come forward to offer an assortment of designs for selection. Mr. Shirokov, the Soviet trade commissioner, speaking on the occasion said that the year 1982 was a very difficult year due to recession. Indian exports of cotton textiles of the USSR was affected due to the Bombay textile strike and unless India purchases more items from the USSR, it would not be possible to step up purchase of cotton textiles and other items from India. Mr. M. M. Sheth, vice chairman of the council, said that the Indian textile industry as it had sufficient infrastructure, could improve the current level of exports to the USSR. The council is, therefore, holding such seminars at various production centres in the country to improve quality standards. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Mar 83 p 10]

ENERGY BOARD MEMBERS--New Delhi, March 22--The following have been named members of the Advisory Board on Energy, which was constituted recently with Mr. K. C. Pant, former Union Energy Minister, as chairman: Dr. V. Kurien, Chairman of National Dairy Development Board, Dr. Kamla Chowdhury, Mr. P. N. Kathju, Dr. G. S. Sidhu, Director-General of Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Mr. V. Krishnamurthy, Managing Director of Maruti Udyog, Dr. R. K. Pachauri, Director of Tata Energy Research Institute, Dr. A. S. Ganguly, Chairman of Hindustan Lever, president of FICCI, Secretary of Planning Commission and Mr. Lovraj Kumar, who will also be the Board's secretary.--PTI. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Mar 83 p 16]

SWEDISH AMBASSADOR'S CREDENTIALS--Sweden Ambassador Axel Edealtam on Friday presented his credentials to President Zail Singh at Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi. Welcoming him, Mr Zail Singh referred to many ideas and ideals which were shared by India and Sweden. The two countries follow essentially the same line to contribute to the well-being of mankind, he said. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Mar 83 p 8]

AICP SPLIT--New Delhi, March 27 (PTI)--The All India Communist Party (AICP), founded only two years back with the blessing of the veteran communist leader, Mr. S. A. Dange, has virtually split even before making a mark on the national political scene. The split is likely to be formalised at a special convention a group of AICP leaders and workers are organising in June in Kerala. Ironically, the decision to hold the June convention was taken at Meerut, where the AICP was born in 1981 with Mr. Dange's daughter, Mrs. Roza deshpane as its president. At the Meerut meeting on March 22 and 23, the group elected Acharya Deepankar as convener of the special convention. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 83 p 6]

INDO-GREEK CULTURAL PACT--India and Greece on Monday signed the first ever executive programme of cultural cooperation between the two countries for a period of three years, reports PTI. The programme envisages cooperation between the two countries in the field of education, art and culture, sports, radio, TV and films. The programme signed between Minister of State for Education, Culture and Social Welfare Shiela Kaul and Greek Minister of Culture and Sciences Melinz Mercouri, includes provision for bilateral exchange of university teachers and research scholars, exchange of experts in the field of education, award of scholarships by both sides for postgraduate and higher studies, participation in national and international seminars and conferences, exchange of publications and exhibitions. It also includes exchange of experts in literature and art, theatre, archaeology and performing troupes and exchange of documentary films, participation in film festivals and special radio and TV programmes. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Mar 83 p 3]

ANDHRA PRADESH MINISTER DIES--Hyderabad, March 28 (UNI)--Andhra Pradesh Endowment Minister Eli Anjaneyulu died at the Nizam's Orthopaedic hospital here this morning following a massive heart attack. Mr Anjaneyulu (57) leaves behind his wife, three sons and three daughters. He will be cremated with State honours tomorrow at his home town in West Godavari district. The State Government declared a public holiday today and a seven-day State mourning as a mark of respect to Mr Anjaneyulu. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Mar 83 p 1]

CONGRESS-I, GDR PARTY LINKS--The National Front of the German Democratic Republic and the Congress-I will sign an agreement for mutual co-operation and cultural exchanges. This was stated by Dr Lotha Koldits, leader of a five-member delegation from the GDR's National Front to newsmen on Monday. The delegation had arrived in India on an invitation by the Congress-I to develop relations at the party level over the past week, it had had discussions with party president Indira Gandhi, working president Kamalapati Tripathi and the party general secretaries. Dr Koldits said the central theme of their talks was the need to safeguard peace and disarmament for a nuclear war would mean annihilation of the mankind. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Mar 83 p 1]

HARYANA MINISTERIAL CHANGES--Chadigarh, March 29--In a major reshuffle, the Jaryana Chief Minister, Mr. Bhajan Lal, today changed the portfolios of three of his Cabinet Ministers and two Ministers of State. Mr. Lachhman Singh was divested of the key industry portfolio. Mrs. Shakuntala Bhagwaria, looking after Social Welfare and Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes, gets Industry and Industrial Training. Mr. Harpal Singh has been relieved of Town and Country Planning, Urban Estates and Colonisation Departments. He now gets the Public Works Department.--UNI. [Text] [Madras THE HINUD in English 30 Mar 83 p 9]

KHALISTAN NOT SEEN POSSIBLE--According to Delhi bureau of HURMAT, several policy-making agencies of the government of India recently analyzed the question whether a separate nation for the Sikhs is or is not possible in the future. For this purpose the agencies made a thorough study of the history of the Sikha also. According to their reports, there is no likelihood of a separate Sikh nation. The reason: the population of the Indian state of Punjab is only 52 percent Sikh. If during the coming years Hindus are made to settle there [in large numbers] and the Sikha are encouraged to migrate to foreign countries, the modest majority of the Sikhs in Punjab will come to an end. The India Government will therefore follow this approach and try to engage the Sikhs in dialogue until their majority in Punjab evaporates. [Text] [Rawalpindi HURMAT in Urdu 7 Apr 83 p 4]

CSO: 4656/163

MOJAHEDIN MEMBER DESCRIBES 'TORTURE IN IRAN'

Paris LIBERATION in French 18 Mar 83 p 20

[Text] During a press conference in Paris yesterday, Hussein Dadkhah, 27 year old Mojahedin member and escapee from Khomeyni's prisons, described the ordeals he underwent and showed the results.

Torture and execution: A day doesn't go by without news from Iran revealing that in this regard, Khomeyni still hasn't reached the ultimate horror. The United Nations report issued several days ago cites from 4,500 to 20,000 executions. In turn, the "Mojahedin", Massoud Radjavi's group (Islamic Left) claims that 25,000 people have been executed and 60,000 are being held prisoner. This accumulation of victims is such that one cannot fully fathom the reality behind the statistics.

Nevertheless, at the headquarters of the Rights of Man League in Paris yesterday, reality made a violent and unbearable appearance in the form of two completely bandaged feet placed on the table of Hussein Dadkhah, 27-year old escapee from Iran's prisons, who was holding a press conference a few days before undergoing an operation, and the amputation of his toes, after the tortures which he suffered. For nearly two hours, Hussein Dadkhah, tall, thin and nervous, meticulously retold his story.

Last December 13, Revolutionary Guards burst into a house in Charoude, a city between Tehran and Machad, where they hoped to find Hussein, a Mojahedin "sympathizer" who for two years had insured liaison between different Mojahedin cells. He wasn't there, however, and the revolutionary guards arrested his wife and one and a half year old daughter. A week later, Hussein was caught in turn. "As soon as I was arrested," he said, "They hit me, threw water in my face, and took me to the revolutionary guard headquarters in Charoude. There the torturing began. Lying on my back, I was tied to a metal table, and four people beat me with cables for over half an hour. My feet were so swollen, they couldn't take off my pants... Each time they had given me 100 lashes with the cables, they would phone Charoude's 'religious judge' to tell him that I hadn't given any information on the Mojahedin, and to ask him if they could continue. I fainted three times, so they injected water into my mouth and nose and started beating me again. That lasted from midnight to dawn the day of my arrest. The next day, an interrogation

specialist, a mullah, arrived from Evian Prison in Tehran to question me. 'If need be', he told me, I'll make you a martyr for your group.' Seated on my chest, he insulted the Mojahedin and our leaders, particularly Massoud Radjavi. He beat me all over, grabbing me by the throat from time to time while his assistant, who wore an enormous ring on his hand, would hit me in the head with his fists. I couldn't breath any more. They then brought in my wife and daughter, who watched my torture for a while. The 'judge' was very skillful: he only beat the tips of my feet with the cables."

At this point in his story, Hussein Dadkhah carefully removed his bandages. His feet appeared: swollen, torn, very red with deep gashes and with all the toes completely blackened by gangrene. Nevertheless, Hussein had already been treated for two weeks in Denmark before coming to Paris...

"I screamed," continued Hussein, who during his discourse mimed the blows and also the positions he had found himself in during an imprisonment which lasted three days in Charoude and a month and a half in Tehran's Evian Prison. In the prison the tortures continued. At the same time that Khomeyni made public his "Eight Point Decree", announcing a certain liberalization, the prison was, according to Hussein, "boiling over". "They began liquidating prisoners," recounted Hussein. "At night we heard shots; one night they finished off 110 people. They would put prisoners into the swimming pool and open fire... They now hold a pretense of a trial, which wasn't the case a few months ago. The accused, blindfolded, is led before the 'president' of the tribunal and his assistant. The process only lasts two minutes, and the question is always the same" Will you agree to appear on television, condemning Massoud Radjavi and his meeting with Tarek Aziz (the Iraqi vice prime minister, NDLR)? If the answer is yes, the prisoner is spared. If it is no, he is lead directoy to the execution stake."

On February 2, Hussein having still not talked, the revolutionary guards decided to transfer him from Evian to Machad.

Hussein claimed he profitted from a moment's carelessness to give them the slip, taking a taxi to the northern part of Tehran. The story becomes less precise at this point, undoubtedly to avoid giving away too much information on the Mojahedin network. "I knocked at a house, saying I was Mojahedin," he stated, "then at another, whose occupants led me to a village, where they began to gather money and organize my escape." Hussein, who was tortured for 90 days during the Shah's reign--he recognized one of SAVAK's torturers--is today at the end of his ordeal. Not so his daughter and wife: the revolutionary guards will surely try to obtain information from the latter on how Hussein was able to flee.

RESULTS OF LATEST 'FAJR'-OFFENSIVE EVALUATED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 17 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] The Iranian parliamentary president and delegate of Khomeyni in the Upper Defense Council, Ayatollah Rafsanjani said on Monday that Iran was considering stopping the "Fajr"-offensive (the word means "dawn"), which it began 6 February. It said it was doing this to spare Iran and Iraq loss of life. It said further that the Iranian armed forces would attempt to win victories with other means that would cause fewer casualties.

Failed Attacks over the Border

This announcement might be an indirect admission that the Iranians have suffered great losses in their last offensive in the Musian sector, and that they were not able to break the Iraqi defense lines. Even at the start of the offensive, Rafsanjani made the rather surprising statement that it would be the "last one." Later, after the offensive had bogged down, he said that it was not at all necessary to conduct large offensives to bring President Saddam Hussein of Iraq to his knees; small actions along the border could do this, too.

This more conservative, almost defensive attitude of Rafsanjanis, who is considered one of the most influential among the religious politicians of Iran, must probably be connected to the fact that war weariness is, in the opinion of almost all observers, more widespread now than in the spring of 1982 when Iran was able to liberate all of its territory. Three successive large offensives over the border have failed: The first of these offensives took place in June 1982 north of Basra; the second in November 1982 at Mandali, parallel to the Tehran-Baghdad highway, and the third was the one in February of this year in the Faqeh-Musian area, which has now officially been brought to an end. There is no doubt that all three Iranian offensives using the tactic of "human waves" have caused significant losses in human life. Iranian officers who have fled the country, for example, Captain Hamid Zirak-Bash, who before his escape worked as liaison officer between the air force and the army, have said that the Basra offensive alone caused 15,000 casualties among the Iranians. It is also well known that the Iranians have great difficulties obtaining replacement parts for their heavy weapons of American origin. They are said to have had only a few remaining complete tank divisions before the last offensive, and it is said that they paid up to ten times the normal prices to obtain replacement parts and ammunition on the international weapons market and in Israel.

Discussion of the War

There is resistance to the war in Iran. It comes from the religious group known as Hojjatian. It favors first attempting to assure the leadership of the religious people in Iran itself by starting up the country's economy again before beginning to "export the Islamic revolution." The influence of the Hojjatian has grown in the past months, as can be seen from, among other things, the arrest of the leading Iranian communists, which took place at the same time as the beginning of the third offensive. The communists (Tudeh-Party) and the Hojjatian have become bitter enemies. Formerly there was a certain cooperation between the Tudeh-Party and the revolution-minded religious people with Rafsanjani as their head. Recently, however, Rafsanjani has distanced himself from the Tudeh-Party and spoken against them in several Friday sermons.

New Language

While earlier the U.S. was the "big devil" and the Soviet Union the "little devil," new language can now be heard that condemns both superpowers equally. It has appeared since the Soviet Union has again delivered weapons to Iraq according to contract, after they had stopped their deliveries in the first two years of the war. Formally Moscow justifies its change in favor of Baghdad by saying that the Iraqis are no longer on Iranian soil and have not thought again of moving against Iran, so that now Iraq is conducting a "defensive" war.

Khomeyni as Referee between "Hawks" and "Doves"

But the end of the "Fajr" offensive cannot be looked upon with certainty as the end of the war. The domestic political situation in Iran is such that a continuation of the war with small actions along the border must be considered more probable. There is a war and a peace party: that of the revolutionary religious people and that of the technology-oriented Hojjatian. Khomeyni works as a referee between them. But beyond doubt Khomeyni's dream is to bring the Iranian revolution to the whole Islamic world. Thus it is difficult for the technological peace party to achieve their aims completely, even if the objective situation in the economic and military area of Khomeyni is forcing a stop to ideas and demands because further actions would cause even more war weariness and dissatisfaction among the populace because of more difficult living conditions.

9124

CSO: 4620/22

IRAN PARTICIPATED IN GENEVA CONFERENCE

GF241148 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1500 GMT 23 Apr 83

[Excerpt] In contradiction to the claims by the clergy of the Khomeyni regime, representatives of the antinational and so-called Islamic regime have in fact attended talks on the Afghanistan issue. According to the Free Voice of Iran correspondent in Geneva, in contrast to the claims of Islamic Republic, that it would not attend the Geneva conference to find a solution for the Afghanistan crisis, the Islamic Republic's ambassador in Switzerland and an official representative of this regime attended the Geneva conference.

The Free Voice of Iran correspondent said that the Geneva conference was convened under the UN auspices and Diego Cordovez, the deputy at the UN [as heard], has been repeatedly urging the Islamic Republic to attend the conference. However, the antinational and so-called Islamic regime of Khomeyni had rejected these invitations and announced that only if representatives of the Afghan fighters attended the Geneva conference would the Islamic Republic also attend.

All news agencies and collective media of the world that back the Khomeyni regime have been reporting the regime's refusal to attend the conference without disclosing that the representatives of the regime have all along intended to attend the conference.

According to the Free Voice of Iran correspondent in Geneva, following the decision of the Islamic Republic not to attend the conference, it was said that the Tehran regime might attend only as an observer. Despite all this and despite the repeated claims of the Khomeyni regime regarding its intention not to attend the Geneva conference, and despite the lipservice paid by the clergy to the Afghan fighters who are fighting the Soviet occupationist forces in Afghanistan, it was disclosed today, that after the news of Cordovez' success in finding a way to solving the Afghanistan crisis, it was also disclosed that the representatives of the Islamic Republic in Geneva and its ambassador in Switzerland, have indeed attended the conference as official representatives of the regime.

The Free Voice of Iran correspondent in Geneva, quoting an Afghan source who is following the talks, said that the claim that the Islamic Republic was not attending the talks was totally baseless. Not only had the Islamic Republic representatives been following the deliberations but they had also attended the sessions of the conference.

CSO: 4640/188

IRANIAN OIL OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON DAMAGE TO GULF WELLS

LD202127 Tehran IRNA in English 1913 GMT 20 Apr 83

[Text] Tehran, 20 April, IRNA--The maximum damage inflicted on the Iranian Nowruz, Abuzar and Soroush oil wells is estimated to be 700 million to 800 million dollars. This includes the damages inflicted on various installations resulting in oil and natural gas leaks, and the destroyed establishments, announced Asghar-Ebrahimi, the chairman of the Iranian Continental Shelf Company today.

Ebrahimi made this announcement following the recent session of the B member countries of the Persian Gulf Environmental Organisation, held in Kuwait and Bahrain. He also spoke on the political, economic, and military repercussions of the Iraqi regime's frantic act in destroying with missiles the Iranian oil fields in the Persian Gulf region. Ebrahimi said estimates of the resulting damages was escalating every day and the Oil Ministry of the Islamic Republic was able to speak authoritatively on figures as a result of the damages and the situation of the oil wells.

He said oil well number three was leaking 2,000 barrels of oil a day, while two burning platform docks namely those of No 5 and No 6 wells as well as 7, 8, 9 and 10 wells were leaking some 5,000 to 8,000 barrels of oil a day. He also said in the future the latter will leak some 10,000 barrels of oil per day, entering the waters of the Persian Gulf.

He said this does not even include the partially burning oil which is moving towards the shores of Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates.

Desalination plants, power companies, ports and marine life of the Persian Gulf countries, were gravely endangered since the light molecules of the oil were vaporised by sunlight and hence the remaining oil attained a heavier density, thus staying afloat in the water, and moving towards the Persian Gulf countries shores.

Stressing that the oil floating on the waters could be cleaned-up with the use of special equipment and ships, Ebrahimi said the oil spread depended on the amount of oil entering the water, temperature, winds, internal water currents, and the oil's physical characteristics, vis-a-vis density.

Quoting Article 35 of the 1949-ratified international law, he said signatories had no right to sabotage each others' oil wells, and that the Kuwait convention articles also dictated the same thing for the 8 member countries of the Persian Gulf, stressing that all countries should pool their efforts to eliminate any polluting sources when it happens.

He said Iran and the other 7 members were paying membership fees in that connection annually.

It is the Iraqi Ba'thist regime which has been violating all the Kuwait Convention principles and all international norms by missile attacking the oil wells on the U.S. orders.

In light of the Arab countries, members of the Kuwait Convention, which had expressed their willingness to pay the damages as a result of the oil slick he said Iran will decide in the future whether it will receive compensation from the Iraqi regime in the form of war reparations or other forms.

He said the Iranian (?engineers) [word indistinct] to their Persian Gulf counterparts in the Kuwait session that they were capable of solving the oil slick problem but the only obstacle preventing their work was security, which was threatened by Iraq, something which was accepted by all members of the session excluding Iraq.

Simultaneously with the second session of the convention's members the Iraqi regime attacked the Iranian oil wells for the second time, this time Abuzar and Soroush wells. And the Iraqi regime's representative in the session insisted on having one Iraqi working next to an Iranian for mending the leak.

The Iranian delegation announced that the Islamic Republic of Iran owned some 400 wells in the waters of the Persian Gulf while Iraq had none. He also said Iran enjoyed more than 20 years of export and excavation experience and hence it will never accept such a condition since the Iraqi regime was not competent to intervene in this affair. He further said Iraq's aim has been to capture Iranian oil wells ever since the imposition of the war, and Iran will never give Iraq such an opportunity.

CSO: 4600/562

TEHRAN PAPER ON ATTACK AGAINST BEIRUT EMBASSY

LD242340 Tehran IRNA in English 1921 GMT 24 Apr 83

[Text] Tehran, 24 April, IRNA--The morning daily JOMHURI ISLAMI [word indistinct] an editorial on the attack against the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. Excerpts:

It may still be too soon to specifically introduce the persons or groups responsible for the re-explosion of the spy nest of the great criminal satan in Beirut. Although three almost unknown groups have claimed responsibility for the explosion, but there is still no reasonable proof to back these claims.

The Islamic Jihad organisation claimed responsibility for the explosion in a contact with the FRENCH NEWS AGENCY (AFP), only hours after the explosion. The 'Organisation for Vengeance of Sabra and Shatila Martyrs' claimed responsibility in a contact with the daily AN-NAHAR, one day after the explosion. And the Arab Socialist Unionist Organisation claimed responsibility in a contact with the leftist AS-SAFIR paper.

Even though the Islamic revolution of Iran is the only force which has inflicted the most fatal and destructive blow on the political identity and interests of the U.S. after the Second World War, and though this revolution has eradicated the most important headquarters of the evil Central Intelligence Agency in the Middle East and has sent it into the trash bin of history, still these do not add up to a valid reason to blame the Islamic Republic for the retaliatory actions by the people against the aggressive and criminal policy of the U.S. just because the Islamic Republic of Iran is the most serious and avowed enemy of the U.S., it cannot be blamed for all anti-American actions which have naturally risen around the world and the Islamic Republic cannot be attached to the operations of Islamic organisations around the world just because they are Islamic.

If the United States is interested in getting a clear answer for the question of who is responsible for the embassy explosion, it should seek to look into its own identity and seek to clarify the philosophy of its illegal and illegitimate presence in Lebanon rather than seeking to find the identity of those responsible for the explosion.

The U.S. does not want to face the fact that enmity towards its aggressive and expansionist policies is not limited to the revolutionary and Islamic society

of Iran, but it is an outcry which has gradually spread all over the world.

The truth of the matter is that time for foolish games has come to an end, and at [word indistinct], the killing of Bashir al-Jumayyil and al-Sadat should have clearly signalled to the U.S. that Lebanon is an Islamic country and belongs to the world of Islam and its innocent Muslim people. The U.S. should have found out by now that no foreign power or agent can prevail on the fate of an Islamic country which is in the heart of the world of Islam. The catastrophe of Lebanon, which developed with the [word indistinct] of the assassination of the Israeli ambassador in Loneon and the massacre at Sabra and Shatila, [word indistinct] took place with the excuse of the killing of Bashir al-Jumayyil, proved to the people of the world that blaming the Islamic Republic for the U.S. Embassy is just another effort to prepare the grounds for new conspiracies in the region, of course if the people of the region would give the great satan a chance.

CSO: 4600/562

'IRNA' ON U.S. ATTEMPT TO RESCUE HOSTAGES

GF241832 Tehran IRNA in English 1700 GMT 24 Apr 83

[Text] Tehran, 24 April, IRNA--Monday, 25 April, is the third anniversary of the U.S. military rescue mission's debacle in Iran's Tabas area. The whole incident is quite similar to the conspiracy by Abraha, the ruler of Yemen to devastate al-Qa'bah before the advent of Islam. At that time, Abraha, along with his strong army riding elephants marched against the house of God in Mecca. But his army was destroyed by little stones dropped by countless birds, all the divine army of Allah, the story of which is described in Surat al-Fili [the elephant] in the Holy Koran.

Why Tabas Military Intervention Occurred

The Tabas military intervention in Iran took place after a period in which all the U.S. diplomatic efforts to release the U.S. spies working in the U.S. den of espionage in Tehran had failed in 1979.

The rescue mission, which indeed was greater than a mere rescue mission, aimed at overthrowing the Islamic Republic of Iran and restoring to power the agents of the defunct Shah in the country.

For some 8 months before the mission's catastrophic defeat, training had started to make the 90-member crew ready for the military intervention in Iran.

The crew was not only American, but as it was later admitted by the American sources and magazines, it comprised also British and Zionist regime agents. For months in U.S. deserts, similar in conditions to the Iranian Tabas Desert, the crew was being trained. Finally after the cooperation of foreign embassies in Tehran, such as those of West Germany, Canada, Switzerland, France and Government of Egypt the 90-member crew flew to Iran.

Using 6 giant C-130 airplanes, and 8 RH-53D helicopters the U.S. soldiers from the most experienced echelons in the U.S. Army and Air Force flew from the U.S. Carrier Nimitz in the Persian Gulf waters to the Tabas area, in central Iran. While on the way, two of the choppers developed mechanical problems and one was forced to land in Kerman, and the other flew back to the Nimitz.

Defunct Shah's Agents Cooperation

The reason why the U.S. planes and helicopters could not be detected by the Iranian radars, was the fact that two U.S.-supported defunct Shah's agents in the armed forces who held key positions in the Iranian armed forces then, had ordered removal of 80 Iranian 23-mm cannons and radars from the Tehran, Shiraz, Mashhad, and Babolsar airports to be taken allegedly to the western fronts. These were the then air force Commander Baqeri and the chief of the joint staff Shadmehr, both two close aides of the ousted Bani-sadr, who ordered the radars and the cannons to be taken away at the time. This is why the radars of the Iranian Armed Forces could not detect the U.S. planes flying at low heights.

Egypt, Oman Cooperation

Also, the Egyptian regime led by the defunct Sadat promised to help the American military mission in intervening in Iranian affairs. The defunct Sadat even did not wince at so shamelessly announcing later that: I had promised to help rescue the American hostages in any way I could.

The Oman government too had allowed the U.S. forces use [of] its bases for the operation.

How The Mission Failed

When the number of the 8 choppers reduced to 6, the nervous team finally landed in Tabas, in an abandoned airport built by the defunct Shah, whose destruction was refused by the Iranian liberals, on grounds that none would do anything with it.

At night, when the U.S. soldiers aimed at flying to Tehran, to rescue the spies, a bus with some 40 passengers neared the area, and the soldiers ordered the passengers to get on one of the C-130's, for a long nice trip abroad while a truck driver being chased by the U.S. soldiers, escaped the area, this making the Americans more worried of being discovered in the areas by the Iranians.

Then one of the helicopters caught fire while fuelling and crashed into one of the C-130's, and both were engulfed in flames and destroyed. Washington, radioed for orders in the light of the accident, cancelled the mission, calling the remaining aircraft and crew back.

When this was announced in the Iranian mass media, Bani-sadr and Baqeri appeared on the television and blamed everything to the blind spots of the radar, also explaining in detail the blind spots for the benefit of Americans. This led to the American helicopters reappearing in Iranian airspace near Chahbahar a few days later.

Bani-sadr Orders Bombing the Remaining Choppers

Immediately after the mission failed, Bani-sadr ordered bombing the helicopters and planes containing invaluable documents which were all destroyed. An IRGC commander, Mohammad Montazer Qa'em was also martyred in the bombing.

When asked why he ordered the bombing of the U.S. planes in the desert, Bani-sadr, said to forestall their use by the U.S. which was a ridiculous excuse.

The World Press Coverage

After the debacle, the world news agencies and press covered the remarkable message of Imam Khomeyni in that crucial juncture: the U.S. cannot do a damn thing and the will of God is greater than all sophisticated weapons employed by the U.S. in this event and in all events opposing the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Meanwhile the American papers and experts started to study the failure of the U.S. technology which was supposed to be the highest in the world. Even the commander of the Zionist regime forces who had directed the operations in Entebbe, was in direct contact with the Americans working in Iran for the rescue mission.

This event, which was undoubtedly another favour of Allah bestowed on the Iranian muslim nation, indicated once again that:

But unbelievers, never
Will disaster cease to seize
Them for their ill deeds
Holy Koran verse rad aya 31

The Tabas event, which was surely carried out by the direct cooperation of the USSR, since its strong radars could not have possibly missed the U.S. planes operating against its southern neighbour, and also with the cooperation of the Western world, and the reactionary regimes of the Persian Gulf region, showed to the U.S. and to the world, that no military power can face a nation who is backed by the infinite power of almighty Allah.

CSO: 4600/562

BRIEFS

EXECUTION OF BAQIR SADR--The regime ruling Iraq impudently confessed to the execution of Ayatollah Seyyed Mohammad Baqir Sadr and his wronged sister Bent al-Huda. Baghdad radio, which because of its fear of arousing the wrath of the Muslim Iraqi masses has refrained from reporting this news in its Arabic programs, at 1100 yesterday, Thursday, in its Persian program--after protesting against the Islamic Republic of Iran for being so concerned about the martyrdom of Ayatollah Sadr and his sister--announced in an insulting and impudent tone: Baqir Sadr was not assassinated in the streets, nor was he hit by a car, nor is he alive. He was executed. It should be noted that during the 2 years since the martyrdom of Ayatollah Sadr and his esteemed sister, Western mass media who support the regime of Saddam have either not raised the assertions of the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning the torture and execution of these two noble individuals by the mercenaries of Saddam, or they have accompanied this report with their usual cliché which they use concerning the Islamic Republic of Iran; namely that it is alleged that.... However, they have always reported the claims of Saddam as facts and have denied that Saddam and his criminal gang have been responsible for this frightful crime. [Text] [LD221349 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 22 Apr 83]

KHOMEYNI REGIME SEEKING LOANS--The Khomeyni regime has asked for \$700 million in loans from Western banks. This matter was revealed by Behzad Nabavi. According to the news that we received last week, the economic bankruptcy of the Khomeyni regime is special. Behzad Nabavi who had complaints about a lack of cooperation from the people of Iran with the Islamic Republic, apparently has not found another country besides Turkey to deal with the nearly bankrupt Khomeyni regime. Under these circumstances the propaganda machinery of the illegal and so-called Islamic regime report on meetings and economic talks between the regime and foreign delegations in order to pretend that the bankruptcy of the economy is not as great as the rumors say. None of the Western banks, who have no faith in Khomeyni's regime, have replied to the loan request. We remind you that before Khomeyni's regime came to power, Iran used to give loans to other countries and had invested in many industrial institutions of the world including Krupp in the FRG. Iran, because of the destructive policies of the regime of mullahs, is now a country in need of loans. [Text] [GF251854 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1500 GMT 25 Apr 83]

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION ACTIONS--The environmental problems of Dayyer Port came under the inspection of the director general of ecology of Bushehr Province

yesterday. According to a report by the Central News Unit, the director general of ecology and a number of experts of this directorate yesterday inspected the fisheries cold storage, fish meal factory and the jetty of this port. Later in a gathering of responsible people of Dayyer, they discussed matters and exchanged views with respect to the city's sewerage and waste burial. Decisions were taken in this meeting to resolve the current difficulties. [Text] [GF251842 Bushehr Domestic Service in Persian 1330 GMT 25 April 83]

NEW AHVAZ MAYOR APPOINTED--The governor general of Khuzestan has appointed Mr Nurollah 'Abedi as the new mayor of Ahvaz. [GF211531 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1330 GMT 20 Apr 83]

UNESCO PARIS MEETING--Paris, 20 April, IRNA--Iran's representative at the UNESCO conference said at a conference session here today that the Muslim people of Iran are determined to kick out each and every enemy soldier in Iran. He said while Iraq has shelled the Iranian oil wells, and while the resultant oil slick is a threat to the health of the people of the region and to the Persian Gulf, Baghdad has been adamant in thwarting Iran's bid for collecting the oil slick from the Persian Gulf waters. He said at the session here that "The aggressor must be punished seriously so that no one person may be tempted in the future to encroach upon the rights of others." He said Iran has time and again declared its conditions for ending the war but that the ruling regime in Iraq has always distorted and misrepresented the facts about the conflict. [Text] [LD202103 Tehran IRNA in English 1954 GMT 20 Apr 83]

CSO: 4600/562

EDITORIAL ADVISES POLITICIANS TO THINK POSITIVELY

GF261600 Karachi NAWA-E HAQT in Urdu 22 Apr 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Political Parties Need a Correct and Constructive Approach"]

[Excerpts] President General Ziaul Haq has said that national discipline can only be enforced under a political infrastructure for which the participation of political parties is essential. He said this at a press conference after completing his 4-day tour of Sind Province.

The president's statement is a very true and practical one and indicates a positive way of thinking. It would be worthwhile to consider the effects and disadvantages of the prolonged or indefinite continuation of a political situation in this context. The president's thoughts regarding the nature of politics or political parties demands a positive approach from political leaders and parties so that their aims are positive as well and they should be more democratic in their attitudes. Creating disturbances or bringing people out into the streets might result in a change of governments but does not bring about any concrete changes for the country and the nation.

It is true that the number of political parties is large but this problem is not without a solution and in order to continue this political process, this can be solved only if certain changes are made in the manifestos of the political parties with the approval of the people and it would not be considered undemocratic at all. Only those political parties should be considered eligible which have been established on the basis of the country's ideology and are represented in all the provinces.

CSO: 4656/157

PAKISTANI PAPER COMMENTS ON SECTARIAN DIFFERENCES

GF241704 Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 83 p 7

[Editorial: A Plea for Sanity"]

[Text] It is a measure of the apathy that has taken hold of enlightened sections of our society that the outbreak of sectarian strife in some localities of Karachi did not immediately produce any significant corporate response. By now, however, the threat that sectarian strife poses to public peace and social harmony has become clear to all thinking minds. But awareness by itself is not sufficient.

When fanaticism raises its head, the defenders of sanity are expected to act with resolution born of a strong sense of purpose. It would not be enough to sign appeals for peace. The leaders of public opinion should stir out of their drawing rooms and mobilise support for inter-sectarian peace and harmony. In a sense, the growth of narrow-mindedness and fanaticism is in itself an evidence of the loss of authority of the traditional leaders of society.

Whatever may have been the cause of this process of abdication and withdrawal, the new reality should compel responsible and enlightened citizens to try to fulfill their historic obligations. Ulema and "leaders of various schools of thought" have held meetings under the aegis of the local administration to express concern "over the recent provocative incidents" and stress the need for sectarian harmony in the city. Mohalla Peace Committees have been formed to guard against the "provocative activities of anti-social elements who manage to slip out of the area after creating trouble for the residents." Strict watch is to be kept on rumour-mongers, for in an environment of fear and helplessness, rumours stalk the land like phantoms in a dream.

Truth becomes an early casualty in emotionally-charged tangles along religious or sectarian lines. Apparently, the sectarian disharmony has been generated by small groups infiltrating into the troubled neighbourhoods. Reports that have appeared in the press tend to confirm this feeling.

If that is so, a higher level of vigilance on the part of the law-enforcing agencies would also contribute to the maintenance of peace.

However, the deposits that the recent incidents are likely to leave behind in the minds of ordinary people deserve long-term attention. Sectarian intolerance can damage the solidarity of the country. If we remember that Pakistan was created through the unity of the Muslims of different sects under the enlightened leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, we would realise how bigotry can strike at the very root of our existence.

The leaders of public opinion should forcefully remind the people that no religion, sect, creed or ideology would require persecution to be able to sustain or vindicate itself. History has positively exposed the futility of fanaticism and religious intolerance. Unfortunately the situation is such that a cool and objective analysis of incidents that have intermittently surfaced in some areas of Karachi since late January, resulting in killings and arsons, is not easy to offer.

Many concerned citizens have been reduced to being helpless spectators. The role of the media appears to be minimal. The first task is to ward off this sense of paralysis. The leaders of public opinion must find ways of asserting themselves.

The intelligentsia has to ponder why this was possible and how this obstacle to the achievement of public peace and social cohesion can be removed. If we look carefully, we will find that our society is confronted with multiple challenges that require unity and immediate action. Illiteracy, poverty, sickness and social injustice are the evils that we must fight against with full vigor.

Fanaticism, born of ignorance, is the enemy of peace and progress. Islam is a message of love and brotherhood and teaches us tolerance. In the name of Islam, let us perceive the danger the sectarianism poses to our faith and to our nation. Let those who can resist blind passions sparked by the vested interests come forward and raise the banner of sanity. The price of inaction can be horrifying.

CSO: 4600/563

SECOND FREE TRADE ZONE BEING PLANNED

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Mar 83 p 19

[Article by Dalton De Silva in Colombo]

[Text]

SRI LANKA, spurred by the success of its first free trade zone in Colombo, is setting up another to attract foreign investment and create jobs.

It is being established at Biyagama, 15 miles (24 kms) from here, close to the Kelani River.

The new zone will cater mainly to heavy industries which need plenty of water and also accommodate any overflow of ventures from the first zone, an official said.

It is being set up by the Greater Colombo Economic Commission (GCEC) which established the first zone at Katunayake near the international airport five years ago.

The two zones are about 20 miles (32 km) from each other and both are located within an area of 160 sq miles (415 sq km) which comes under the jurisdiction of the GCEC.

The GCEC, created to foster the country's economic development, has acquired 450 acres (180 hectares) of neglected coconut and rubber land to set up the zone.

With the help of some UN experts it has finalised plans for the infrastructure for some 100 factories.

The second zone will be developed in stages and bulldozers will move in next May to clear the land and level the ground.

Foreign investors will be invited to set up factories in Biyagama to produce a wide range of goods including rubber, metal and leather products, electronic and electrical goods and agro-based industries.

They will be offered a package of incentives on the same basis as those which attracted entrepreneurs from different parts of the world to the first zone, the official said.

These include tax exemptions and concessions, a constitutional guarantee of investments, an educated and comparatively cheap labour force, banking facilities and infrastructure.

At present 56 factories are in commercial pro-

duction in the first zone and a further 10 are under construction or trial production, said GCEC director-general Paul Perera.

Investors have come from over 20 countries including West Germany, the United States, Britain, Hong Kong, Norway, Belgium, Switzerland, South Korea, Japan, Singapore, Thailand and India.

Mr Perera said the most apparent success of the first zone had been in creating jobs, directly employing 26,000 Sri Lankans. It will eventually create jobs for more than 40,000.

"It is estimated that for every one person directly employed in the zone, two

have found jobs outside it," he added.

It has also contributed to increasing Sri Lanka's export earnings. In 1979, exports from the zone were valued at only US\$6.6 million but rose to US\$50.5 million in 1981 and US\$72 million last year.

The GCEC has estimated the country earned net foreign exchange amounting to 820 million rupees (US\$35.6 million) from the zone after paying for imports of raw materials, dividends on profit and salaries of expatriate staff.

The total investment on the factories is estimated at US\$56 million, according to the zone authorities. — Reuter

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